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THE TANALA
A HILL TRIBE OF MADAGASCAR

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PREFACE

This publication is designed to be the first of a series presenting 121 the scientific results of the Marshall Field Anthropological Expedition to Madagascar, undertaken on behalf of Field Museum of Natural History. The Tanala have been selected as the subject of the initial publication of the series because their culture appears to be archaic in many respects and because they have been, as yet, only slightly influenced by European contact. Contributions to the ethnology of other tribes will appear from time to time.

Madagascar was selected as a field for research in continuance of Field Museum's long-established interest in Malayan ethnology. This island is the westernmost point reached by Malayan peoples, and it was hoped that investigations there would throw much light on early Malayan culture. There were, in addition, many unsolved problems connected with the settlement of the island by Malays and with the possible interaction of Malayan and African cultures there and on the continent of Africa. The final solution of these problems must await further comparative studies, but there are many indications that the Malay settlement in Madagascar was ancient and that Malay culture preceded some of the modern cultures of African type in the island.

The expedition was made possible by the generosity of Marshall 122 Field. I left Chicago in October, 1925, and after a short stay in France sailed from Marseilles in December of the same year, arriving in Madagascar early in January, 1926. After a stay of two months in Tananarive, the capital, short trips for reconnaissance and collecting were made southward to Ambositra, in the territory of the Betsileo tribe, and northward to Lake Alotra, in the territory of the Sihanaka tribe. During July and August of that year, the northern part of the island was crossed from the head of Antongil Bay to Ampanihy, on the northwest coast, the Betsimisaraka, Tsimahety and northern Sakalava tribes being visited and studied. From Ampanihy I went by ship to Majunga and then returned overland to Tananarive with a side trip to Kandreo, in the central Sakalava territory. In November, 1926, I sailed from Tamatave to Farafangana, on the southeast coast, and after two months there, devoted to study of the Antaifasina and Antaimorona tribes, continued overland to Fort Dauphin. After a month's stay at Fort Dauphin I crossed the southern end of the island to Tulear, on the west coast, arriving in Tulear in April. There a month was devoted to the study of the

122 Vezo Sakalava. From Tulear I went northeast to Betroka, in the territory of the Bara tribe, and, after some time spent in study there, continued on to Ambalavao, in the Betsileo territory. From Ambalavao I went to Ambohimanga du Sud, the ancient capital of the northern Tanala, where two months were spent in collecting the material embodied in the present report. From Ambohimanga du Sud I returned to Tananarive and finally sailed from Tamatave late in the fall of 1927.

000 I wish to express my gratitude to Gabriel Ferrand, Ministre Plénipotentiaire of France, for the invaluable assistance which he rendered me in Paris with the French Colonial Administration, and to Hugues Berthier, Administrateur-en-chef des Colonies, for his cooperation while in Madagascar. I also wish to thank my many native and European friends in the island, especially the missionaries of various denominations, for their kind and disinterested assistance. I wish to thank Carl F. Gronemann, Field Museum Staff Artist, for the care with which he executed the drawings for this publication.

RALPH LINTON

THE TANALA, A HILL TRIBE OF MADAGASCAR

I. INTRODUCTION

The island of Madagascar lies off the southeast coast of Africa, /31 with its long axis running approximately north-northeast by south-southwest. It is the third largest island in the world, with a length of approximately 1,000 miles and an average width of 250 miles. It includes regions of rather diverse climate and natural resources.

Along the eastern side of Madagascar, extending almost from end /33 to end, there is a series of mountain ranges. These mountains rise to an elevation of 2,000 meters in places and form the watershed for the entire island. From them rivers flow eastward into the Indian Ocean and westward into the Mozambique Channel. In the north, the mountains are abrupt and rise directly from the sea. As one goes southward, they become lower and less abrupt, gradually dying out toward the southern end of the island, and there is a narrow coastal plain. At the southern end of the mountains this plain turns westward and includes all the southern tip of the island.

On the western side of the massif there is a great plateau, also mountainous, which has an elevation of about 1,000 meters in the central part. This slopes off gradually toward the west and south. Along its western edge there are broken mountain ranges, lower than those on the east.

The eastern slope of the massif and the eastern coastal plain are /32 characterized by an extremely hot and humid climate. It rains almost daily during all months. Coast and mountains are covered by a dense growth of tropical jungle, so heavy as to be almost impassable. This is the most unhealthy part of the island and fever takes a heavy toll [164] of both Europeans and plateau natives.

The plateau is characterized by a rather dry, temperate climate with a moderate seasonal rainfall. From late May to early September there is hardly any rain and the temperature falls almost to the freezing point at night. Traditionally, the eastern and central [137] parts of the plateau were once densely forested and this is borne out by the occasional finding of large logs buried in swamps. Agriculture by the cutting and burning method, coupled with cattle grazing, has completely deforested it and most of it is now open grass land. This region is comparatively healthy and there is said to have been [496] little or no fever here prior to the construction of the railroad from Tananarive to the east coast.

132 137 On the western slope of the plateau and in the extreme south the climate is hot and semi-arid to arid. The ground is covered with clumps of low trees and thorny scrub, interspersed with stretches of grass land. In many places it is difficult to obtain water. In spite [164] of the aridity there is much fever in this region, making it unhealthy for Europeans.

101 The various environments just described are reflected in the culture of the natives of the different regions. The people of the east coast are mainly fishermen and agriculturalists, with little dependence on cattle. Those of the plateau are mainly agricultural, but with cattle of greater economic importance. Those of the south and west subsist almost entirely on their herds. (For a discussion of these [113] differences see Linton: Culture Areas in Madagascar, American Anthropology, Vol. XXX, No. 3.)

[131] The Tanala occupy approximately the southern third of the eastern massif. Their territory lies roughly between 20° 30′ and 22° 20′ south latitude and between 46° and 46° 30′ east longitude. On the east they extend, in places, to within a day's march of the sea, but nowhere reach the coast. On the west and south their territory everywhere ends at the edge of the open grass lands.

As neighbors they have, on the south and southwest, the Bara, who are a cattle people with a culture of west coast type. On the west lie the Betsileo and on the northwest the Imerina, both of plateau culture. On the north are the Bezanozano, of mixed plateau and east coast culture, and on the northeast the Betsimisaraka, of east coast culture. On the east lie three tribes, the Antambahoaka, Antaimorona and Antaifasina, who claim Arab descent and unquestionably have come under strong Arab influence.

177 The Tanala thus lie at the meeting point of four rather distinct types of culture. Influences from all of these can be traced in the historic culture of the tribe. However, the extent and importance of these influences vary greatly in different parts of the Tanala territory. The region inhabited by the Tanala Ikongo, in the south, presented few natural obstacles to invasion and was relatively desirable. It lay between the territories of two unusually vigorous and aggressive tribes, the Bara and Antaimorona. As a result, it was constantly being entered by groups coming from the southeast coast and cattle areas. These conquered and amalgamated with the earlier inhabitants, imposing much of their own culture.

177 166 The territory of the Tanala Menabe, in the north, was much less desirable. It was extremely mountainous, with almost impenetrable

jungle and heavy rain throughout a large part of the year. There was little to tempt invaders, but in time it came to be occupied by defeated groups who had been driven from the more desirable coast and plateau. Once established, these groups had little contact with the outside world. There was almost no trade. Their neighbors to the east and north were lethargic and they were protected from the more warlike plateau tribes partly by their poverty in cattle and partly by the plateau people's dislike for jungle fighting. Diffusion from the neighboring areas was, therefore, reduced to a minimum. 177 166

According to Menabe traditions the aboriginal inhabitants of their territory were of very low culture. They offered no resistance to the settlement of the invading people and soon amalgamated with them. The early invaders, coming from both coast and plateau, are said to have been fairly uniform in culture. Possibly many of the historic differences between these areas had not yet been developed. The method of life which they established has continued in the region down to the present time with only slight modifications. Certain new features have been adopted, but these can be checked by reliable traditions which give both the group from whom the new trait was borrowed and the approximate time of its introduction. 178 173

The culture of the Tanala Menabe is still uniform in most details, the only really divergent division being the Zafimaniry, who came into the region from the plateau in relatively recent times. In comparison with the other Madagascar cultures it is relatively simple and I believe it to be archaic. In many respects it agrees closely with the ancient culture of the more advanced tribes, as revealed in their traditions. 101

II. NATURE OF THE TERRITORY

137 The Tanala territory is, almost without exception, wooded and mountainous. On the eastern side of the divide there are still considerable areas of virgin forest. These, for the most part, are in regions too steep and broken for even the very primitive native methods of agriculture to handle them profitably. Enormous trees of many species rise a hundred feet or more and interlace their branches to form a roof which the sunlight never penetrates. Their larger limbs are covered with veritable hanging gardens of orchids, ferns and airplants. Below this roof the air is laced with a network of aerial roots and vines, with a few smaller trees climbing upward. At the ground there is a stratum of dense undergrowth, mostly succulent, which is so thick that it is almost impossible to travel outside the well-worn trails.

136 The virgin jungle is gloomy and forbidding. It is not silent, for one is never away from the sound of water, gurgling in innumerable little streams and dripping from the high branches, but there seems, at first encounter, to be almost no animal or bird life. One discovers the footprints of wild boar and *fossa* (a cat-like carnivor) but never sees these animals unless accompanied by a pack of hunting dogs. The lemurs, which are actually fairly numerous, are all arboreal and mostly nocturnal, spending their days curled up in the tree tops. The birds, for the most part, keep to the jungle roof and the big black parrots are the only ones which advertise their presence. Even with modern firearms and a good knowledge of jungle lore it is impossible to live on the country.

137 [241] On the less abrupt slopes the original jungle has been cleared away by the natives, who burn new patches year after year and plant their crops in the ashes. The native forest trees grow slowly, for the most part, and land once cleared never again approximates the virgin growth. At the lower altitudes the old clearings are covered with bushes and low trees, with dense stands of the Traveler's Palm. Higher up, the Traveler's Palm becomes scarce and is replaced by great stretches of small bamboo with stems fifteen to twenty feet long. These grow separately or in small clumps and bend under the wind and rain so that, from a distance, they look like drooping fern fronds. Under and between them there is a thick growth of long grass and tough bushes, making it almost impossible to force one's way through.

On the western side of the divide the forest is lower and more 137
open, resembling moderately heavy second growth timber in the
eastern United States. In the bottoms grow clumps of tall raffia
palms. Forest and open grass lands meet in an irregular line. This
line is the real western boundary of the Tanala country. A few of [361]
their villages are in the open, but hardly one is out of sight of the
forest.

On the eastern side of the divide there is daily rain at all seasons. 132
On the west there is a seasonal change, comparable to that in the plateau, the rainiest months being December to February. Because of the altitude the climate is temperate throughout most of the Tanala country. During the winter season it becomes unpleasantly cold, with frost in the low places and heavy morning fogs that chill one to the bone. Even in summer it is rarely uncomfortably hot.

Throughout the whole of the Tanala country there is a multitude 133
of streams and rivers. These are mostly swift, with many falls and rapids so that canoe travel is unprofitable. There are a few small lakes. In the bottoms of some valleys one encounters rather extensive swamps, which become impassable during the rainy season.

From the point of view of natural resources, the region is not 311
especially tempting. Wild food is scarce and hard to get and agri-
culture involves heavy labor in cutting and burning the forest.
Grazing is rather poor and cattle do not thrive in such a wet climate.
In opposition to this, the forest affords an abundance of good timber, [137]
far beyond the local needs, raffia, rubber and other products, and 135
there are considerable deposits of iron ore. The latter are neither rich enough nor extensive enough to be of much value for export purposes. There are also deposits of other valuable minerals, crystal and gold, but these meant nothing to the first settlers. Although there are traces of ancient gold working in many parts of the Tanala territory, the natives do not seem to have mined the gold themselves.

Perhaps the greatest gift which the region offers to settlers is a 131
relative immunity from attack. The terrain makes large-scale
invasion almost impossible. Moreover, the country was fairly 164
healthy prior to the opening up of regular communication with the coast. People driven from the plateau could settle in the higher forest without fear of the deadly coast fevers.

III. TANALA ABORIGINES

173 563 Most of the Tanala clans claim to have originated either in the plateau or on the coast but there are two gentes of the Menabe, the Teroandrika in the south and the Zanakanony in the north, whom the others believe to be aboriginal. At the present time neither of these has a definite territory, their members living scattered in the villages of the other clans. They have intermarried until there are no full-blooded individuals left and have adopted the culture of the other Tanala, but there are some curious and suggestive traditions in regard to them. The Teroandrika are said to have been very short and of slight build, like undeveloped boys. They were dark [142] brown, almost black in color and had short, kinky hair, round faces and round staring eyes. The peculiarity of the eyes seems to have been their most striking feature, for three different informants mentioned it first in describing them. They seem to have been in a low stage of culture, but the only thing clearly remembered is that they had no *fady* ("taboos").

[142] The Zanakanony in the north were also short but taller than the Teroandrika, perhaps five feet to five feet four inches. They were light brown with long wavy or at most curly hair and were heavily muscled, with thick chests, broad shoulders, and heavy thighs and calves. Their waists, wrists, knees and ankles were slender. One informant said that they "were built like Frenchmen." When other clans entered the northern territory they found the Zanakanony living in caves. They built no houses except leaf shelters "like those the Tanala build when they have to spend a night in the forest." They had no metal, shaping their wooden implements with flakes of quartz crystal. These were made by holding a large crystal on end and striking the top with a round river boulder until it cracked into pieces lengthwise. The best fragments were chosen, used until blunted, and then thrown away. Naturally rough stones were used for grinding and polishing. They had neither the blow gun nor the bow. Their only weapons were spears made from the wood of the *Lambinana* or the *Anivona*, a species of palm. These spears were not barbed but might have two or more points if they could find a stick that forked properly. They also made forked spears by splitting the end of the stick with stone wedges and binding it below the split with vines, a technique still employed in making fish spears (Fig. 2, d). They made fire with a bamboo fire saw, although all the other clans made it with the firedrill. Informants were uncertain whether they

practised agriculture or had domestic animals but agreed that they 173
were primarily hunters and food gatherers. They had neither chiefs 563
nor slaves and had no gens *fadys* but spoke a language intelligible to the other Tanala. The present Zanakanony have adopted the *fady* of the Zafiakotry gens, which prohibit the killing or eating of the wild boar and the smoking of hemp. Also, when their women marry men of other gentes, they specify that the husband must not injure any of the mats or baskets in the house, for these are the woman's exclusive property.

The details just given were obtained from several different informants who agreed in all important points and I do not believe that they were invented. The description of the manufacture of stone implements in particular must have a basis of observation, for the Tanala themselves claim to have used iron since very ancient times. If true, the traditions point to the presence in Madagascar of a group which was still culturally in the old stone age. This is of great importance, for no stone implements other than a few hammer stones, rubbing stones and drill weights of types still in use have been reported from the island. Moreover, the physical type of this paleolithic group and their use of the fire saw would seem to link them with Indonesia rather than the neighboring African mainland.

IV. COMPOSITION AND ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT TRIBE

101 The term Tanala means simply "People of the Forest." It is
619 applied to all the inhabitants of a certain stretch of territory irrespective of their origins and political affiliations. There has never been a Tanala tribe, if that term is used in the sense of a socially or politically integrated group.

618 In order to understand the composition of the Tanala, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the native social organization. The various social units are based on a combination of two factors, common descent and common residence. The smallest unit, aside from the individual family, is the lineage, a localized group of relatives who claim descent from a single ancestor in the male line. This unit occupies a certain part of a village and usually holds its lands in common. Lineages which have few children, or which have been decimated by disease or otherwise weakened, pass out of existence. Strong lineages increase steadily in numbers and finally secede from the village and found a village of their own. By imperceptible degrees the lineage becomes a gens, new lineages springing up within it and
618 new villages being founded. Throughout the whole process territorial unity is maintained. A lineage which moves too far away from its
631 parent village soon loses touch and becomes a separate unit. Sometimes the gens remains politically independent and continues to grow and occupy more and more territory until it becomes a tribe. More often, however, the tribal groups are made up of several gentes which have been brought together by conquest, or by alliance against some common enemy. There is usually no strong central control in such a tribe and individuals feel much more closely bound to their gens than to the larger unit. Gentes may belong to different tribes at different periods and a lineage from one gens may secede entirely and go into the territory of another tribe, with which it will, in time, become incorporated.

618 Actually, the composition of the Tanala seems to have been con-
166 stantly changing, various groups entering and leaving the territory, shifting their residence and alliance within it, expanding or contracting and often disappearing. This state of flux was stimulated by the local conditions. The gentes were usually small and were almost always at war with each other. A strong group of invaders could easily displace or conquer the natives, while weak immigrants, who entered peacefully, would be welcomed by any resident group for

the addition to its man power. These alliances were aided by the 618
common language of the natives and immigrants and by the great 166
number of cultural features which they always had in common.
Lastly, the region was never densely inhabited and the rapid, if [241]
temporary, exhaustion of the soil through the native methods of
agriculture prevented the population from becoming too firmly fixed
in one place.

619 The Tanala always have been, and still are, a more or less accidental agglomeration of groups of diverse origin who have entered the territory at different times. Although all of them have numerous cultural features in common and speak mutually intelligible dialects, they cannot be said to resemble each other more closely than the various units, individually, resemble certain of the units in neighboring tribes. In spite of this, the term Tanala seems to have more than a geographical significance for the natives themselves. They have a rather shadowy sense of unity, which is strongest in the case of gentes living close together. This is reflected in the different attitudes toward Tanala and foreign slaves and in the clear distinction between gentes which are Tanala and those which are not. Any informant can instantly place any gens which he has heard of as being inside or outside the tribe. Moreover, within the tribe there are certain large divisions, not necessarily political units, which are universally recognized. Apparently membership in the tribe is based mainly on length of residence in the territory. Any group which has lived in the region more than three or four generations is counted Tanala.

631 The Tanala themselves recognize two main divisions of the tribe, the Tanala Menabe, who occupy the northern part of the territory, and the Tanala Ikongo, who occupy the southern part. The Ikongo take their name from Mount Ikongo, about 8 kilometers from Fort Carnot. Sadaro Antoine says:

> 722 "Mount Ikongo was the refuge of all the inhabitants of the [southern] forest region in time of war. The top was level and could only be reached by one path, narrow and difficult. It was cultivated, providing food during sieges. This mountain was never conquered by the Imerina. The top was divided into two parts, Ananjamanga on the northeast and Tsiajopapango on the south. On the southwest corner of Ananjamanga, called Mitioka, there was a small, rocky hill where the ancient inhabitants sacrificed an ox to their ancestors for protection and victory before going to battle. This hill was shaped like a cattle tick, *kongo*, and gave the name Ikongo to the mountain."

619 101 There seems to have been little or no feeling of unity between these main divisions and I could not learn that they ever assisted each other in war. During the Imerina campaigns against the Ikongo, the Menabe, who had already submitted, remained quiet. Moreover, there were and still are certain cultural differences between the two. The Ikongo were better organized politically, with kings and a caste system like that of the southeast coast tribes. In their material culture they resembled the southeast coast in some respects and the Bara in others. The Menabe had no kings or castes until recent times. The division included one gens of pure plateau culture while the rest resembled the Betsimisaraka in many particulars.

DIVISIONS OF THE IKONGO

(From manuscript of Sadaro Antoine)

114 [That part of the manuscript dealing with the royal gentes and castes has been given in the chapter on Social Organization. Although the account contains much extraneous matter, it has seemed best to quote it in full because of the picture it gives of the constant state of flux in the population and the diverse origin of the various groups.]

619 618 The Government of Ankarimbelo is divided into two Governments Madinka: 1. Ankarimbelo, with the tribes [localized gentes] Manambondro, Vohitrosy, Vohimana-Sahafina and Marohala. 2. Ambatofisaka, with the tribes Zazanava and Tanalandravy. The whole group is known as Tanala or forest dwellers. All these tribes were independent, with their own chiefs, and were almost constantly at war with each other. Each tribe stayed in its own territory and knew nothing beyond it. [Here follows an account of the various castes and of the origin of the Zafirambo, the royal stock, which has been quoted in the chapter on Social Organization.]

MANAMBONDRO TRIBE.—Before the arrival of the Zafirambo in the Manambondro region it was inhabited by various gentes of different origin: the Sahavana, Antandroka, Ante-Varandrano and Ante-Maronony.

173 618 The Sahavana had been established in the region for about three hundred years when the Zafirambo arrived. According to traditions they were the aborigines of the region. From the time of Rakonjavo, their ancestor, until that of Rafolo, in the fourth generation after him, they stayed on Mount Sahavana, from which they took their name. Rafolo's son, Ravanambe, married Volavano and had two

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children, Vatomirehitra and a pretty daughter, Renivolondambo, who lived with their grandfather until a thunderstorm struck the village, doing great damage. After that Rafolo left his village, taking with him some water from the Manambondro River. He traveled south and finally settled beside a great river whose name he did not know. He threw the water he had brought into this river and from that time on it was called Manambondro. His descendants form the present gentes of Rabehavana and Rafolo in the Government of Amparihy. Ravanambe, son of Rafolo, remained at Sahavana with his two children, Vatomirehitra and Renivolondambo. When Andriampodimena arrived at Ambalavato he was unmarried and sent to Sahavana for Renivolondambo. Their descendants form the present Zafirambo caste. Vatomirehitra stayed alone at Sahavana and his descendants form the present Sahavana gens.

The territory of the Antandroka is separated from that of the Sahavana by Mount Tangidy. They inhabit the valley of the Androkavato [lit. "stony river"], one of the tributaries of the Matitanana, and receive their name from it. The first inhabitant of Androka was named Idama. He lived at Karinoro, east of Mount Mandrizavo. Bara raiders, led by Tembongo and Andriamarony, arrived in the region and drove Idama and his family into the forest of Andohatadirary, where he established himself at Ankarongatsimitombe. There he was joined by Radiovola and Rafonimanga. The latter had a son, Raivakoa. Raivakoa had four sons, Andriampihavana, Trangiteza, Tiabe and Ramahajano. The three last named raised many dogs to hunt wild pigs. The dogs killed the calves and damaged the standing crops of the inhabitants. Andriampihavana warned them to fasten up their dogs, but they paid no attention. He became angry and killed all the dogs, poisoning them with *sefa* bark.

Tiabe and Ramahajano were so incensed that they left him and traveled north. They carried with them roots of the *akondro mainty* ["black banana"] and *hofika* and water from the Androkavato River. They settled for a time at Malazaravy, near Anosibe [Government of Fort Carnot], where they planted their bananas and *hofika*. They then moved north again and settled at Ambinany Lakandava on one of the tributaries of the Onila River. There a chief named Tsimisotra gave them a good reception. They planted the rest of their bananas and *hofika* there and threw the water they had brought into the river. Because of this the upper part of the Onila River is still called Androka.

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Trangiteza, the second brother, turned south and settled in the upper valley of the Manama. There he had two sons, Rajahambao and Andrianampovao. The three allied themselves with Vovombe, chief of the Ante-Manama and defeated the Antesiramena. Trangiteza and his sons then left Andoha-Manama and established themselves at Telana, in the territory of the Anterienana.

Andriampihavana was the only one of the four brothers who stayed in his birthplace. He had a son named Andriamaroefaka. This son was attacked by Andriantsivy and fled to Andranomiangao, at the foot of Mandrizavo. He settled successively at Talamary and Ambanitadirary, dying at the latter place. He had a son Somotra, ironically called Trimo, because of his huge beard. The son of Somotra, called Andrianiha, lived on the rock of Analamaloka. He had a son, Andriarezo, who settled at Antanimena. There Andriarezo had two children, Imoty and a daughter, Ialo. She married a warrior of the Ante-Rienana, named Andrianahy, who lived at Sahakondro. Imoty, the son of Andriarezo, settled at Amboahena, at the foot of Mount Mandrizavo, and Andrianahy, the husband of Ialo, at Andranoira, east of Analamloka.

Three Zafimanara named Andriantaroka, Solay and Sahabe, coming from the country of the Antaimorona tribe, established themselves one after the other at Ambatoharana. Ralambohery, from the Zazanava tribe (Ambatofisaka) arrived and settled at Karinoro. At the same time an Antaimorona *ombiasy* ["medicine-man"] named Ramanontolo came from Androka and settled at Ambatoharana. The six great men just mentioned asked him to make an *ody* ["charm"] to improve their condition. They gave him a robe, silver and six head of cattle. He prepared his charm at Andranomeloka, which in consequence was afterward called Andranomahasoa. The water at Andranomeloka was very low at that time, but the *ombiasy* told the inhabitants: "If my *ody* is successful, this water will become deep and black and you will catch a large *fanany* [a species of snake which the Betsileo believe develops from the bodies of dead royalty]. All that will bring you good luck." After the *ombiasy* had left for the high plateau the water became deep and black and they saw a big *fanany*. Surprised at this the people cried out: "Oh, now our water has become Maintimbahatra" [lit "blackened by the *vahatra*," i.e., "amulets"]. This is the origin of the name of the river, Maintimbahatra. Finally, the six men, Imoty, Andrianahy, Andriantaroka, Solay, Ralambohery and Sahabe lived peacefully at Androka and their descendants form the Antandroka gens.

The Ante-Varandrano live along the left bank of the Sahonjatsy /173
River, a tributary of the Manambondro. They are made up of four 618
families: 1. Ante-Fenoarivo, 2. Tsiempodrano, 3. Sarodry, 4. Vohijaha.

The Ante-Fenoarivo originated as follows: Three brothers, Raberafy, Rabe and Rasamy, lived on Mount Ambohitra east of Ambohimakamasina [Ambalavao]. Because of a dispute with his brothers Rasamy went east with his family and settled at Mount Ankaramena. One cold night he lit a big fire to warm himself The chief Fihorana, who lived on Mount Tangidy, sent a messenger to investigate. He sent this message to Rasamy: "If you want to be under my rule I will protect you and give you a good piece of land. If you do not, return to your home, for this is not your territory." Unwilling to return to his brothers, Rasamy accepted the offer and settled at Andakatoposa [south of Mamolifoly]. Later the Zafirambo [the royal gens of the region] transferred their *kibory* ["common tomb"] to a cave at Andakatoposa. Rasamy left the neighborhood and settled finally at Fenoarivo. Hence the name of the family.

The ancestor of the Tsiempodrano was named Vorombelo. He lived on Mount Tsiempodrano [northwest of Anivorano] for a long time. He married Rasoavano and founded the family Zafindrasoavano or Tsiempodrano.

The ancestor of the Sarodry was named Tsantsa. He belonged in the region and lived on Mount Sarodry [north of Anivorano]. He married Rano and founded the family. His son was Tahotra, who begot Ringa, who begot Ibiby, who begot Ilefaky, who begot Inahaky, who begot Tsaravita. Tsaravita had two sons, Itamy and Ivoky. Itamy begot Indriamizara, who begot Ipity. Ivoky begot Sambomana, who had three descendants (sons?), Masimana, Tsivahora and Imainty.

The ancestor of the Vohijaha, also called Anivorano, was named Ramahafombo. He lived on Mount Vohijana [north of Anivorano]. He married Zafindravary and begot Ravelo, who begot Ramanalefitry, who begot Tsarandro and Tsihirena. Tsarandro begot Tsizaray, who begot Tsaramana and Ratsedika. Tsihirena begot Manongalaza, who begot Vazana, Havanony, Andriambola, and Rebeja.

[In this and the preceding genealogy only those sons are given who were founders or heads of lineages. Apparently the record has been brought up to the time the manuscript was written, circa 1910.]

618 The Ante-Maronony gens is formed of four families: 1. Ante-Be, 2. Tsimanovo, 3. Maintimboho, 4. Tokanono. It occupies the left bank of the Matitanana River from the ancient village of Itoto to Behazava. Its ancestor, Ralamaka, lived at Managara, but its real origin is uncertain. Like the Sahavana, this gens is descended from the first inhabitants of the Manambondro.

618 173 VOHITROSY TRIBE.—The name of this tribe is formed from *vohitra* ["village," also the name of the commoner caste] and *osy* ["goat"]. Before the Vohitrosy arrived the Ante-Vongo and Vohibato, the first inhabitants of the high valley of the Matitanana River, raised many goats. When these two tribes had been driven out by Rabenontany, ancestor of the Vohitrosy, an *ombiasy* of the Antaimorona tribe, named Masindava, told him that he and his descendants must never raise goats. He said it was the cause of the defeat of the earlier inhabitants. This *fady* ["taboo"] is still observed.

The Vohitrosy tribe originated as follows: Two brothers named Ravij and Rabenontany lived at Itrongea, a region between the boundaries of Ihosy and Ambalavao. At that time the country was covered with an immense forest. One day a stroke of lightning fell there and burned a large part of the forest. Everyone was frightened and the brothers decided to leave the region. They went east and settled first at Lomaka [district of Ambalavao]. Later Ravij returned home. Rabenontany stayed at Lomaka and married a Betsileo woman named Raondra. He had two children, Rabezara and Rabelaza. Later he left Lomaka with his family and continued east to Tsirinentso, a wooded mountain to the south of Vinanimasy [Ankarimbelo]. This region was inhabited by several gentes, the Ante-Vongo, the Vohibato and the Ante-Varandrano, who were at war with each other. The chiefs of the last two sent to Rabenontany to demand why he had come. He told them he was traveling east in search of a fertile region. The chiefs, Andriamborindrano of the Vohibato and Rasoky of the Ante-Varandrano, allied themselves with him and said: "If you can vanquish our enemies the Ante-Vongo and drive them out of this region, your descendants shall be kings of it. Rabezara and Rabelaza, helped by their father and their allies, fought with the Ante-Vongo but were unable to drive them out of the territory for good. In order to police the region better, the two brothers separated. Rabezara installed himself at Anorimbato [south of Vinanimasy], fought the Ante-Vongo on the slopes and finally drove them to Sahatsama [district of Ivohibe]. Rabelaza stayed with his father at Andriamangidy [northeast of Vinanimasy].

A gigantic Antaimorona warrior named Masindava arrived at 618
Andriamangidy. Rabenontany demanded the object of his visit and 173
he said that he sought a region to pacify. Rabenontany invited him to chase the Ante-Vongo. Masindava and Rabelaza fought the Ante-Vongo successively at Ambondro, Ananjavidy and Amboambiry and finished by driving them into the upper valley of the Sahafina, where they took the name of Vasiamainty. Some years later two brothers belonging to the Ante-Vongo, named Rahorova and Renanga, and their sister Soaboka returned to the region. The chief Rabezara took Soaboka to wife and their descendants formed the family Zafiraondra. Raondra, wife of Rabenontany, together with the descendants of Rabelaza, formed the family Ante-Be. In addition to these the region is occupied by two little families, the Zafindraharaha [Ambatombitra] and the Vinaninony [Anorimbato-Ankarimbelo].

VOHIMANA-SAHAFINA TRIBE.—This tribe occupies the valleys of the Manama and Sahafina rivers. It is encountered two hours' march south of the post of Ankarimbelo. As the name indicates, the tribe is composed of two gentes: the Ante-Manama, commonly called Vohimana, and the Sahafina.

The Ante-Manama were the original inhabitants of the region. Their ancestor was named Rakidinto. He lived in a village at the juncture of the Manama and Matitanana rivers. From there he went to Anosimasy, south of Kondromainty on the left bank of the Manama River, which in those days was called Sahanikatry. Appreciating the richness and beauty of the territory Rakidinto cried: "Manama itoy tany itoy" ["How seductive is this land."]. From this they gave the name Manama to the river which flowed near his house. The river gave the name to the gens, Ante-Manama. Rakidinto married Heankea and had a son named Rapipika. The son left Anosimasy and settled at Ifiahia, south of Ambahaka. His son, Radingadinga, had a child, Ravovombe, from whom the Ante-Manama are descended.

The Zafintsira, who are also a part of the Vohimana, are the descendants of Ratsira, who first lived at the foot of Mount Vatovavy, situated in the upper valley of the Mananjary River, north of the district of Ifanadiana. As the result of a civil war, Ratsira left Vatovavy and went south to Vohitsasia [northwest of Mitremaka]. Later he settled at Antanjongea [north of Ambatoharana]. There he had six children, Bibilahy, Mamaibay, Ratsimanely, Marodoby, Andriantsila and Tanandroa. Ratsira and his family were attacked by the Vohitrosy, who killed all except Tanandroa, his youngest child. Tanandroa fled, swam the Matitanana and settled at Mount Ifampa,

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618
on the left bank of the river. He had a child named Fiankina. After his father's death, Fiankina left Ifampa and settled at Isobahy [northeast of Kondromainty]. There he died after having two children, Taimamanga and Vorombe, from whom the Zafintaira are descended.

About fifty years after the arrival of the Ante-Manama and Zafintaira, immigrant Antaimorona, called Zafindrafeno, arrived among the tribe. They fought with the natives and seized rule of the region. A hundred years later the Hova Vohimana [the royal gens of the Vohimana-Sahafina tribe] appeared. Their exact origin is unknown, but according to tradition they are the descendants of Andriamborondrano, who was born at Ambiliony near Isalo [Benenitra in the Bara territory]. He had a son, Andriamatahimana, who was defeated by an Imerina expedition and fled eastward. He settled at Beana, near Vohidroy [Ambalavao]. There he had a son named Andriamijonjo. This son left Beana and established himself at Vohitrarivo, north of Ambahaka. There he had a son named Andriamihana. This son had two children, Andriantsohary and Andrianonifeno. The former left Vohitrarivo and settled at Anosy [home of the Ante-Rienana]. Andrianonifeno lived with his father, but they were attacked by the Zafindrafeno and the father killed. Andrianonifeno sought refuge in the high plateau, being still young. When he was grown he returned to the region and stayed at Ambohimana [in territory of the Vohitrosy tribe]. The Ante-Manama heard of the return of their young king, sent for him, and brought him to Vohitrarivo. He recommenced the war against the Zafindrafeno, finally defeating them and leaving their chief, Ravorombe, dead on the field. After this conquest Andrianonifeno named his gens the Vohimana, in memory of Ambohimana, his residence while in exile.

MAROHALA TRIBE.—This tribe lies about two hours' march southeast from the post at Ankarimbelo. North and east of it are the Matitanana, south the Sahafina and west the Vohitrosy. The region was originally occupied by the Zafindrafeno, Vohimana and Sahafina. These gentes were defeated by the Ante-Manambondro, who completely overran the region. The Vohimana and Sahafina asked help from the Marohala-Sandrananta. These sent an expedition against the Ante-Manambondro. It was directed by Andriamarosambo, Manjakamana and Mahery, with Tsilatsa, Ramasy and Laka as helpers. The Ante-Manambondro were defeated and driven back into their own territory. The victors remained in the region and formed the Marohala tribe.

ZAZANAVA TRIBE.—The villages of this tribe are nearly all on the 173
left bank of the Manambondro, with the exception of Ampandramana, 618
which is on the right bank. Before the arrival of the Zafirambo on the Sandramanta, the lower Manambondro was uninhabited. The Zafirambo, anxious to increase their territory, sent two members of their gens to occupy it. These were Andriamasilaza and Fonony, of the Saharamy family, with their children Ravalateza and Rasambohery. They settled at Ambinaninony, at the confluence of the Manambondro and Matitanana. Their descendants took the name Zazanava. The Sahavana, from Tangidy, joined Andriamasilaza and their descendants kept the same name. Several years later, various small families, Tsianary, Tambodiria, Zananfiringa and Sahanary, established themselves successively in the region. They joined with the first arrivals and the descendants of the group are the Zazanava.

TANALANDRAVY TRIBE.—This tribe is made up of small villages scattered in the forest. Its territory is bounded on the east and south by the district of Vohipeno, on the north by the Government of Fort Carnot, and on the west by the territory of the Zazanava. The region was first occupied by the Ante-Tsimatra. Later, these were conquered by the Antanony, Vohibolo and Zafindraony, coming from the upper valley of the Mananjary. The Antanony established themselves at Vohodroy, Ramahalaitra, Ramondo and Mahazomana. The Vohibolo established themselves at Rainilaiahitra and Ramondo. The Zafindraony established themselves at Fainilaimandro. The Ante-Tsimatra were driven to the right bank of the Matitanana.

Later the Zafirambo sent one of their number, Tsirianony, into the Tanalandravy territory. He sought the chief Ramahalaitra and his allies and asked permission to settle in the region. "We will allow you to settle among us," Ramahalaitra said, "but we will not recognize you as king." Tsirianony said: "That is understood. All I ask is that all the cattle you offer to your ancestors shall henceforth have their throats cut by me and my descendants." [The right to kill cattle, *Manosa-bily*, is often vested in a single gens in other tribes as well. The killers receive certain parts of the animal in payment.] This was agreed to and Tsirianony settled among them. Later he brought his mother, who belonged to the Ante-Maha gens at Vohipeno, to stay with him. The little families, Ante-Saha, Antambahy and Ante-Omby, also established themselves in the region at this time. The descendants of all these form the Tanalandravy.

This account is certainly incomplete as far as the minor 619
divisions of the various main groups are concerned. I found that my 618

619 618 Tanala Menabe informants could give lists of the gentes within their own tribe and of lineages within their gens, but knew little about the composition of other units. In the following tabulation, worked out from the manuscript, the tribes have been given at the extreme left, gentes next and more or less independent sub-gentes next. Undoubtedly some of the latter would be considered gentes by informants from within the next larger division. The Zafirambo, or royal caste, considered themselves a gens, but were distributed through the territory of several tribes.

TANALA IKONGO

[101]

TRIBE	GENS	SUB-GENS
Manambondro	Sahavana	
	Antandroka	
	Ante-Varandrano	Ante-Fenoarivo
		Tsiempodrano
		Sarodry
		Vohijaka
	Ante-Maromony	Ante-Be
		Tsimanevo
		Maintimbaho
		Tokanemo
Vohitrosy	Zafiraondra	
	Ante-Be	
	Zafindraharaha	
	Vinanimony	
Vohimana-Sahafina	Vohimana	Vohimana
		Zafintsira
		Zafindrafeno
		Hova Vohimana
	Sahafina	
Marohala		
Zanaavo	Beragava	
	Sahadava	
	Tsienary	
	Tambohiria	
	Zanaafiringa	
	Sahanary	
Tanalandravy	Ante-Tsimatra	
	Antanomy	
	Vohibolo	
	Zafindramy	
	Ante-Omby	
	Ante-Saha	
	Antambahy	

DIVISIONS OF THE MENABE

631 619 The Tanala Menabe, the northern half of the forest dwellers, say that they belong to two main divisions, the Teloarivo Atsimo and the Teloarivo Varitra. The terms mean respectively "The Three Thousand of the South" and "The Three Thousand of the North." The

various tribes composing the Teloarivo Varitra were never united 631
politically prior to the French conquest. Those of the Teloarivo 619
Atsimo were consolidated under a single rule about one hundred years ago. At this time the Zafiakotry, a gens of the Manandriana, were driven from their territory and appealed to the Imerina king, Andrianampoimerina, for help. He aided them to reinstate themselves and finally, by persuasion rather than force of arms, they became the rulers of the whole division. Their capital was at Ambohimanga du Sud, which was given this name in honor of Ambohimanga, the old Imerina capital. They remained nominal vassals of the Imerina, under light control, until the French conquest.

[101]

TELOARIVO ATSIMO

TRIBE	GENS	SUB-GENS
No name, but a single chief	Temina Tsimanaike Sakalvona	
Mahasila	Mahasila	
No name, but a single chief	Farovory or Maromena Zanakontavy Teroandrika	
Tsaharofa-Tsivoazana	Zafindriantrova	

TELOARIVO VARITRA

TRIBE	GENS	SUB-GENS
Zafindiamanana	Andrianihambana Andriavahoakarivo Andriavahoaka Andrianibiaka Zafiratonona Zafindianony	
Manandriana	Montymandry Tsabanary	
	Zafimaniry	Sahanjavy Ankaramasina Fonaamby Ankarana Ambohimanana Zafimaniry
	Zafiakotry	Zanavavy (Royal) Betsiraisy Zafilambo Zafindrama (?) Panjaro (?) Makalangy (?)
	Manandriana	Zafimarmaka Zanakanony Marohidy Tovato Tambohimarina

619 631 166 The preceding list of Menabe divisions is based on the statements of several different informants. Checks proved that no one of these had an accurate knowledge of the composition of the whole group. Moreover, they usually failed to distinguish between lineage, sub-gens and gens. All of them belonged to the Teloarivo Varitra and knew only the larger divisions of the Teloarivo Atsimo. The list is, therefore, both incomplete and inaccurate, but it is the best which could be gotten under the circumstances.

The Zafindiamanana claim descent from Indriamanana, who entered the northern Tanala territory from the Betsileo country eight generations ago, including the present. He had six daughters, from whom the six divisions of this tribe trace their descent. They found the country almost uninhabited. Later some people of Antaimorona stock entered the region, but were absorbed by them. In recent times the Zafindiamanana were subject to the king of Ambohimanga, who was also king of the Manandriana. They submitted voluntarily, on the advice of Andrianampoimerina, founder of the Imerina empire. Prior to this union they had had no chiefs and no castes, being ruled entirely by their village councils and the heads of the lineages.

The Zafimaniry entered the region from the plateau in still more recent times, being forced out of their territory by war. They found some of their present divisions in the territory and incorporated them. Their culture is still largely of plateau type.

The Zafiakotry and Manandriana proper are of very mixed origin. Some of their sub-gentes claim Arab descent and most of them apparently came in from the east coast. In historic times the Zafiakotry were the noble gens of the Manandriana confederacy. The kingship was vested first in the Zafilambo, later in the Zanavavy.

631 361 The sub-gentes in all the groups were small. The Zanavavy had three villages of approximately fifty houses each, the Betairatsy, two of eighty houses each, and the Zafilambo, three of fifty houses each.

V. ECONOMIC LIFE

SOURCES OF FOOD

AGRICULTURE

The foundation of Tanala economic life is agriculture and the 241
natives cannot conceive of existence without it. During the seasons of planting and harvest all other activities are suspended. Tanala who have entered the employ of Europeans will always specify that they must receive leave at these times to return to their villages to attend to their rice, and will do so even when it entails a considerable financial loss. Every able-bodied member of the tribe takes part in [643]
the work and even kings do not consider it beneath their dignity to work on their own plantations.

The account of Ikongo agriculture given by Sadaro Antoine is of such interest that it seems best to quote it in full. He says: "Our crops are rice, maize, manioc, beans, bananas, voemba and *kalamaka* [two varieties of ground nut] and many sorts of greens, *anomomy, mangevotra, anatsongo, etc.*

"The growing of *rice* is our principal culture and it is the founda- 243
tion of our food. Our ancestors knew only six varieties: *sary lava, sary botrika, velomary, sary mandinika, bemalody* and *malady*. Rice is cultivated twice a year, the first crop being called *sary aloha* and the second *sary afara*. The Ikongo have three sorts of land: 1. [311]
Tany [newly cleared forest]. 2. *Haoka* [swampy land]. 3. *Hoey* [terraced and irrigated land]. The *sary aloha* is sown in the *haoka* [221]
or *hoey* in the month *Maka* [July] and harvested in the month *Asaramanity* [November]. The *sary afara* is sown in the *tany* in *Asaramanity* [November] and harvested in *Valasira* [April].

"This is how the *tany* is made: The weather is fine, the sun bright. It commences to be hot. The *ombiasy* and *famitra* are in flower, seeds sprout, and the shoots of the *amonia, volombaro* and *voambos* begin to open. The birds *fitatram, railongo* and *olily* sing from the trees. These are the signs foretelling the *Sakase* [time for cutting the *tany*]. The men leave the village and go to some mountain or hollow covered with thick forest. They halt at the edge of the forest and divide the land to make the *tany*. Each one sets up a mark on his part, the *tsepon tany*. Satisfied with the division they return to the village loaded with faggots. The next morning all go to work. Everything, trees, bushes and vines, is cut down. After two or three days of individual work the men begin to help each other (in cutting down

243 the larger trees). While the men work the women prepare food and the children fish in the neighboring streams. At noon the workers eat, returning to work after their meal. After about an hour of work they return to the village. The owner of the *tavy* thanks those who have helped him. The clearing goes on for ten or fifteen days. The trees and brush which have been cut are allowed to dry for twenty to twenty-five days. By the beginning of the month *Volambita* [October] all are dry. At noon the proprietor of the *tavy* takes a dry bamboo, his *kapaika*, and goes to the field. He strikes a tree trunk lightly with his bamboo and calls out: 'Oh *fahasivy* [ancestral shades] who live in this neighborhood, go away, for I am about to set fire to the *tavy*. Send away your children, your old people and your blind.' Having said this, he sets fire to the *tavy*. The heat, flame and smoke are enormous. In an hour a *tavy* of twenty hectares will be burned. The fire spreads into the uncut timber and causes great damage to the forest. Some days later the women plant the rice, four to six grains in a hole. The men also lend a hand. With the rice the women plant maize and ground nuts and sow the seeds of plants used as greens. At the beginning of the month *Asaramanitra* [December] they weed the rice, men, women and children working together. After the weeding they gather the maize, which has ripened. A few weeks later the rice begins to ripen and has to be guarded against birds, especially the *fody* [a red bird much like a sparrow] and the *kitreoka* [a little green and yellow paroquet]. This is the beginning of the *valasira*, the rice beginning to turn yellow. The man builds on his *tavy* a rice house, called *homby*. While he is doing this the wife makes *tanty be* [big baskets], *harona* [sacks of soft matting] and *tanty* [ordinary baskets]. On the morning of a fortunate day the wife goes to the *tavy* and plucks a few heads of rice that are still green. The grains are roasted, hulled and ground. This food is called *lango*. The husband takes a little of it on a leaf of *longoza* [a broad, smooth leaf often used as a plate] and places it on a flat stone in the *tavy*, speaking as follows: 'Oh *Fahasivy*, thanks to you the rice is ripe. We offer you the first harvest, for we cannot eat before you do. Take the meal reserved for you. Protect our harvest against wind, hail, locusts and wild pigs.' After this prayer the whole family divides and eats the rest of the *lango*. From that moment the rice harvest begins. The rice is cut with *karima* [reaping knives] by the women, while the men carry. It is placed in baskets which the men carry to the *homby* on their heads. The children [244] prepare the food. It is at this time that one harvests the ground nuts and greens.

and greens. When the harvest is finished and the rice in the *homby* the members of the family return to the village. They have been away for five months. The man repairs the *tranoambo* [rice granary] and the rice is brought to it from the *homby*, the whole village assisting. 243

"Maize (*tsako*) is cultivated in the whole region and is second to rice. We distinguish a number of varieties: *tsakoala, varadaja, ambosamboritra, tsakobiby, tsakofotsy, tsakodoroka* and *tsakorondra*. Maize is grown in all seasons, but it is during the hot season that it gives the best yield. It is sown in the *tavy* at the same time as the rice, or planted in alluvial soil in the valleys. Small holes are made with a pointed stick from 50 to 70 centimeters apart and two or three grains put in each hole. It is ripe three or four months after planting. The maize for the next sowing is put in a dry bamboo filled with ashes to keep the insects from damaging it. That which is to be eaten is put in a dry place over the fire or hung up in the granary. Maize pounded and cooked in water with beans or honey forms an [252] excellent food. We also eat it roasted.

"Beans (*voatelo*) are very common in the region. We distinguish eight species: *voatelokobo, voatelosoratra, velotompo, tsatsakoria, menavava, voatelo be, voatelosakay*, and *voatelovoronosy*. Beans like alluvial soil or the site of an old village. Like maize, they are planted in small holes about 50 centimeters apart, two or three seeds to the hole. They are planted in the month *Sakave* [September] in newly burned ground. The crop is weeded when the plants have three leaves. At the end of the second month they flower and produce pods. At the end of the third month the pods break off and are harvested. 244

"Manioc (*kazaha*) attains a height of 2 to 3 meters. There are two varieties, *kazaha ala*, which is best, and *dompatry*. It is planted by cuttings, which grow readily, even in very poor soil. It is planted in the month *Sakamasy* [August]. When the ground is ready, holes are made about a meter apart and a cutting put in each hole, care being taken to place it horizontally. It is weeded about forty-five days after planting. At the end of seven months one may begin to gather it. The root is sometimes eaten raw, but is more often boiled or roasted in hot ashes. The root is also preserved by cutting it in pieces and drying it in the sun."

The above account needs to be supplemented in several details. In agriculture by the *tavy* method it is necessary to allow the land to lie fallow for from five to ten years between plantings. The growth which springs up during this time consists mostly of bamboo, 241

241 fern and low bushes and the second planting never yields as good crops as the first. Because of this, the natives try to clear new land each season, going farther and farther from their villages. There is little effort to keep the fires within bounds and if the season is dry [361] large areas of uncut timber are often burned over. The result is a wholesale destruction of large timber and the final exhaustion of the lands about a village. When this occurs, the village must be moved to new territory but, curiously enough, the natives never gave land exhaustion as a reason for such movements. The village will move [791] on the advice of an *ombiasy* ("medicine-man"), who will assign some supernatural reason for the crop failures.

241 423 596 When the *tavy* is inconveniently far from the village, the people camp there, building small, temporary houses. Among the Menabe the members of each lineage formerly camped and worked together, as a protection from enemy raids. When a section of land was to be cleared and burned, the heads of families marked out sectors along its front and each family cleared back into the jungle as far as it thought necessary to provide food for the year. The families thus had strips of crop land of approximately equal width, but of a length proportionate to their industry. The crops were the absolute property of the family, but the land reverted to the lineage and was reapportioned at the next burning. At the present time, this method has largely lapsed, and families are holding and working their *tavy* independently.

241 Seed for rice and other crops is usually collected shortly after the harvest and kept in joints of bamboo, small cloth bags, etc. These are hung up in the dwelling, over the fireplace, so that the smoke will help to protect them from insects. Sometimes wood ashes are mixed with the seed for the same reason. In a few houses I found [513] soft bags of matting, stuffed with seed rice, in use as pillows. Seed beans are sometimes kept in peculiar baskets made in imitation of clusters of bean pods (Fig. 1, c, d).

241 789 As far as I could learn, no special importance is attached to the selection of seed. There are no seed gathering ceremonies, no charms are placed with the seed, and there is no attempt to increase its yield by magical means. Seeds are usually soaked in warm water before planting, but this is not a universal practice.

Apparently no rites to promote fertility are performed at planting time. This is rather curious in view of the wide occurrence of such rites in connection with Asiatic rice culture, but I am convinced that if they ever existed among the Tanala they have been forgotten.

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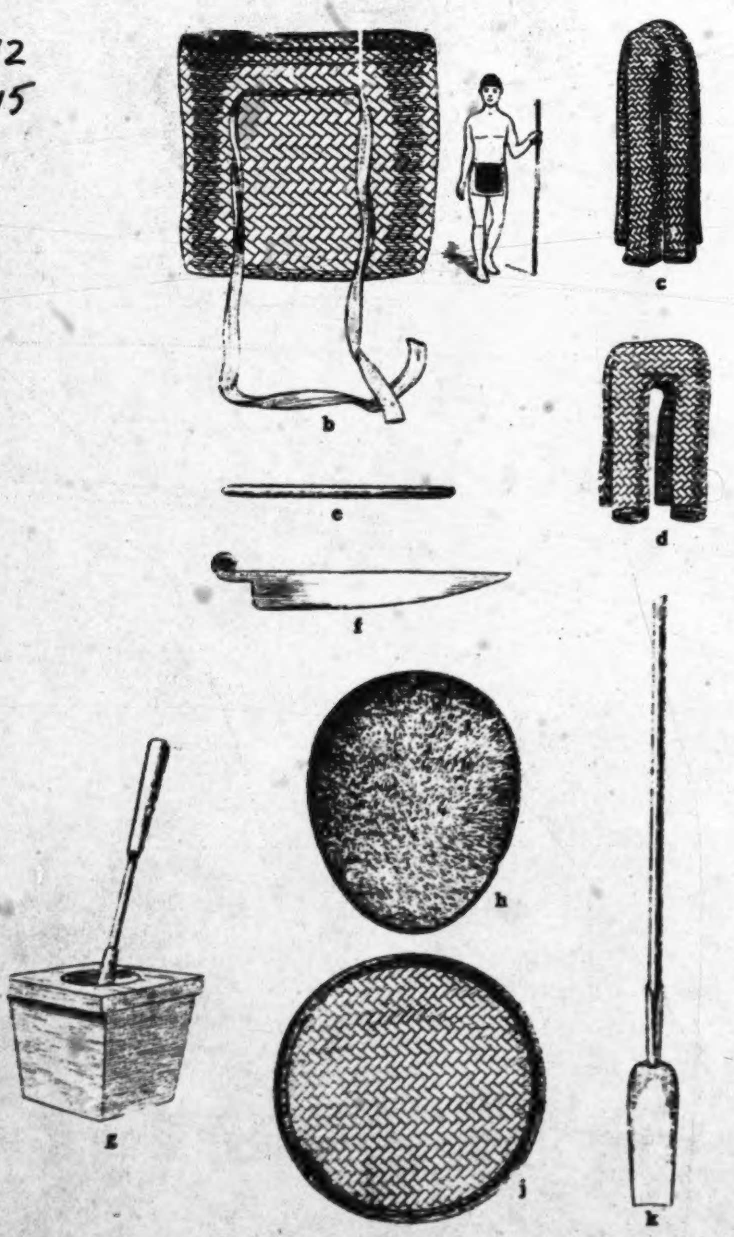

FIG. 1. Cultivation and Preparation of Rice. a, Dibble; b, Sowing Basket; c, d, Baskets for Bean Seed; e, Flail; f, Reaping Knife; g, Mortar and Pestle; h, j, Winnowing Trays; k, Spade.

782 Brockway[1] says: "At planting time the Tanala [Menabe] kill oxen. . . . What is killed, with a considerable quantity of *toaka* [rum] is laid upon altars in the fields as an offering to their ancestors. . . . The altar stones on which the offerings are made are a curiosity and I have seen them nowhere else in Madagascar." The "altar stones," which he describes, are evidently memorial stones of the usual Tanala form and he probably mistook a special for a general practice. Sacrifices are necessary when crops are planted in a *zintana* (place belonging to the ancestral spirits, see p. 168) but not for ordinary planting.

241 After the *tavy* has been burned, little or no attempt is made to prepare the field further. At most, piles of ashes left by large trees will be leveled and some of the ash carried and spread on bare spots. [412] The planting is done with a dibble of hard wood 4 to 5 feet long and about 1½ inches in diameter (Fig. 1, a). One informant said that the point must always be made from the root end of the sapling, as otherwise the plants would not grow strong and erect. Holes are punched in the soil to a depth of 3 or 4 inches, the seed dropped in and covered with the foot. There is no attempt to plant in regular rows. Seeds of all sorts are carried mixed together in a deep, narrow basket which is slung from the waist in front or on the right side (Fig. 1, b). Among the Menabe, at least, seeds of several sorts are often planted in the same hole. The planting is usually done by men, but the women often assist.

412 241 Aside from the dibble just described, the only Tanala agricultural implement is the spade. This has an iron blade 1 foot to 18 inches long and 4 or 5 inches wide. The blade is flat or slightly concave and the cutting edge straight. At the top there is a rounded shoulder and a deep socket for the insertion of a handle (Fig. 1, k). The handle is straight and about 5 feet long and is made from hard, heavy wood. The shoulder of the spade is too narrow to be used as a step in forcing it into the ground. It is swung with both hands, driven into the ground, and a piece of earth levered out.

Tanala spades are identical with those of the neighboring plateau tribes and nearly all of them are imported from that region. Among the groups which live exclusively by *tavy* agriculture they are little used and I found that many families did not own one. Their main use is in the construction of terraces and in the preparation of the earth before planting wet rice and I suspect that many of the gentes did not use them in ancient times. Hoes are unknown in Madagascar.

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[1] Brockway, T. A., A Visit to Ambohimanga in the Tanala Country, Antananarivo Annual, 2nd Ed., No. 2, p. 181.

There is no cultivation of standing crops. Weeding is done by 241
hand, usually by the women and children. The fields are sometimes [462]
fenced with posts and saplings bound crosswise with withes, some- [417]
what like our own post and rail fences, but this seems to be rare.
It is only resorted to in places where the wild pigs are numerous.

When the grain begins to ripen, members of the family are on
guard day and night to drive away birds and wild pigs, whose
nocturnal raids often cause serious damage. Cords with bits of cloth
or leaves attached are sometimes suspended over the fields, but there
seem to be no elaborate scarecrows comparable to those of Malaysia.
Bamboo bull-roarers are often used to frighten away the birds, but [534]
this task is usually delegated to small boys armed with slings. They [411]
are very expert with these weapons and I have seen a boy bring
down a bird no larger than a sparrow at twenty yards. At night
the men keep guard with spears, to drive off pigs. Also, traps are
set in their runs and at gaps in the fence.

The Menabe, like the Ikongo, sacrifice before beginning the 782
harvest, but their method is slightly different. A post, called *fatotra*, 241
is set up in the *tavy* of each family. It is about 4 feet high and 2 or 3
inches in diameter (Fig. 23, k). The top is split in the form of a
cross and little wedges inserted with their ends projecting almost
horizontally, forming a small stand or platform about 6 inches across.
The husband, not the wife, gathers the green rice and makes the
lango. He places a little of it, on a piece of the leaf of the Traveler's
Palm, on the *fatotra* and says: "Oh *Fahasivy* [ancestors], you have
given us a good harvest. We give you this meal as your share." The
neighboring Betsimisaraka make their harvest sacrifice in the same
way, but mix rice chaff with the *lango*.

After the sacrifice has been made, the harvest commences. The rice is headed with small iron knives identical with those used in weaving, as razors, etc. (Fig. 1, f). The stalks are cut between the knife blade and the thumb, two or three at a time, and the heads dropped into a basket held in the left hand. The heads are often dried on mats in the sun before they are stored. No use is made of the straw, which is left to rot in the fields.

The granaries, *homby*, are small houses, shaped like miniature 343
dwellings. The walls and floor are of split and interwoven bamboo
and the roof heavily thatched with the leaves of the Traveler's Palm.
They are always raised on smooth posts, to keep out the rats, but
the height varies greatly. The average is about 6 feet, but some are
as low as 4 feet, and others as high as 12 feet. There is a small door

343 in one end and often a shallow porch, formed by the overhang of the roof. The size of the *homby* is very variable. Some are not more than 4 feet square, while others are as much as 8 feet long by 5 feet wide. They serve for the storage of tools and equipment as well as grain and may even be used as sleeping places if the fields are far from the village. The door is reached by a ladder made from a notched log. Inside, the rice is stored in large baskets about 2 feet deep and 2 to 4 feet in diameter.

251 Most of the Menabe keep their rice in the *homby* throughout the season, going to get a basketful at a time. They do this even when the granary is as much as a full day's march from the village. The rice needed for immediate use is usually kept in a basket in the dwelling, although I saw small outside granaries in a few villages.

343 The Ikongo granaries in villages are built on the same lines as the *homby*, but are of better and more permanent construction. In a few cases the walls and floor are made of planks instead of woven bamboo. The supporting posts are larger and more smoothly polished, and are provided with wooden disks, 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, which are placed between the posts and the floor as an additional protection from rats. At the present time, inverted tin dish pans are often used for this purpose.

On the western edge of the Ikongo territory there is a limited use of clay granaries, copied from the southern plateau tribes. These are conical, 4 to 5 feet in diameter and 6 to 8 feet high. The walls are 8 to 10 inches thick and may be solid earth, but are more commonly of wattle work heavily daubed. They are smoothly plastered, inside and out, with a mixture of clay and cow dung which is bright red in color. The only opening is a small door, about 2 feet square, which is placed high up in the side. The top is heavily thatched with straw. Subterranean granaries of the sort used by the Betsileo and Imerina are unknown among the Tanala.

251 The rice in the granaries is likely to become moldy and the owners will take it out from time to time and spread it on mats in the sun.

243 The Menabe transport their rice to the village in the head and thrash it a little at a time, as needed. The heads are laid on a clean mat and the grain trodden out with the bare feet or beaten out with a short club about 1 inch in diameter and 18 inches to 2 feet long (Fig. 1, e). The straw is gathered up and thrown away and the remaining mixture of grain and chaff winnowed by tossing it into the air from a winnowing tray. Three types of winnowing tray are

in use: a stiff, rectangular piece of matting about 2 feet square, a large, circular tray of basketry with a wooden rim, and a circular tray of light wood (Fig. 1, h, j). Thrashing and winnowing are usually done by women. 243

After winnowing, the dark skin of the rice grains is removed by pounding in a mortar with a pestle. This is woman's work, although men and boys sometimes assist. The pestles are made from a variety of hard, heavy woods and are finely shaped and finished (Fig. 1, g). They are 4 to 5 feet long and 3 to 3½ inches in diameter at the ends, tapering to a smooth central grip about 18 inches long and 1½ to 2 inches in diameter. A good pestle balances exactly in the center. The two ends are used interchangeably. Three types of mortar are in use. The oldest, now employed only as a makeshift, is made by digging a hole in hard ground and lining it with a smooth coat of clay. A fire is then kindled in it and the clay burned hard. Stone mortars are known, but no specimens were seen and I could learn nothing concerning their form or manufacture. 252 412

The ordinary mortar is of wood, with an oblong top and truncated pyramidal base (Fig. 1, g). Although not set in the ground, it is so heavy that it is rarely moved. In some villages I saw the mortars for an entire lineage set up together under an open roof, with the pestles leaning against a bar beside them. Although the mortars seemed to be used indiscriminately, pestles are strictly personal property. They are made for the women by their husbands and a woman will resent another's using her pestle without permission. Each woman usually does her rice pounding alone, but occasionally two people will pound together, striking into the mortar alternately, in perfect time. This seems to be commoner with half-grown boys and girls than with adults. [422]

When a great deal of rice is being pounded at one time, a stiff sleeve of matting, like a basket without a bottom, is set on top of the mortar. It is not attached to the mortar and is not used at ordinary times.

After pounding, the rice is winnowed again, to remove all hulls and dust. That used at ordinary times is rarely pounded to complete whiteness. Even the best is not polished. The grain is prepared a little at a time, as needed for cooking. 252

Among most of the Menabe gentes cultivation of dry rice by the *tavy* method is certainly older than the cultivation of wet rice. This probably holds for the Ikongo as well. Most of the Menabe have 243

243 no taboo against wet rice, but rarely raise it, because of the labor involved. The Zafimaniry still have a strong taboo against it. [173] According to their own tradition, they were the last of the Menabe gentes to settle in the territory. They originally lived in the Ankaratra, a mountainous part of the plateau, and raised wet rice, like the other tribes of this area. Enemies attacked them when their men were dispersed, repairing their rice terraces. They were driven out of their territory and when they re-established themselves, they tabooed wet rice cultivation, which they held responsible for the calamity. The taboo is so strong that when Betsileo immigrants began to cultivate wet rice in their country, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, they broke down the terraces and destroyed the crop.

Tanala wet rice culture is still crude in comparison with that of the plateau tribes. They do not use fertilizer, sow in seed beds, or transplant. Terrace systems are still very rare. The soil of a natural swamp is turned over with spades to a depth of about 1 foot, all but the largest vegetation being dug in. Cattle are then driven back and forth over the plot until the earth is churned to a soft muck. The rice is sown broadcast but not trodden in. Later, the crop is weeded once or twice. The harvest sacrifice is the same as for the *tavy*.

241 In addition to rice and the plants grown in the *tavy*, the Menabe grow bananas, sweet potatoes and sugar cane. None of these are of 245 great economic importance. Bananas are planted in or near the village, often in solitary clumps. The young plants are sometimes fenced to protect them from pigs, but require no other care. The fruit is small and of indifferent quality. It is cut green and hung up over the fireplace, where it soon becomes blackened with smoke. It is allowed to become soft and thoroughly ripe, then eaten raw. The plantain seems to be unknown.

286 171 The Tanala do not use banana fiber. The Betsileo, their neighbors, formerly used it extensively in weaving and raised certain varieties of banana almost exclusively for it. They claim that it was the first material woven by them.

244 Sweet potatoes are grown from the shoots. Bunches of these are planted in holes at intervals of about 2 feet. The ground is not prepared. New patches may be weeded a month or two after planting, but the growth of the vines is so luxuriant that they soon strangle all other vegetation. The plants begin bearing in six to eight months and continue to produce for two or three years, after which the tubers become small and fibrous. The roots are dug a few at a time, as

needed, the digger locating them by prodding the soil with a pointed 244
stick. The patches are small and are always near the village.

Sugar cane grows in isolated clumps in or near the villages. I saw 249
no plantations. The stalks are chewed, like candy, and bundles of the leaves are sometimes used as torches. The juice is also extracted by crushing the cane between wooden rollers. This is allowed to ferment and is then drunk as beer or distilled into rum. No sugar or syrup is made.

Castor oil plants are often to be seen growing near the villages and a few of them are sometimes planted in the *tavy*. The oil is extracted with a crude press, like that used for honey. It is used
in hair dressing and is often a part of charms. Whole beans are [354]
also used to make a sort of taper or night light.

Small and extremely hot red peppers are used as a condiment. 263
They grow wild on old village sites and abandoned fields.

The Tanala believe that all their crops are indigenous. A very 241
careful investigation failed to reveal any traditions of the introduction 173
of maize, manioc or tobacco.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The Tanala originally had the following domestic animals: dogs 231
(*amboha*), cattle (*omby*), goats (*bengy*), chickens (*akoho*), and a very large duck with dark plumage and red wattles (*dokotra*). Sheep, cats, ordinary ducks and geese and turkeys have all been introduced within the historic period, but are of little economic importance. In the drier and less heavily forested parts of the Tanala territory guinea fowl have been semi-domesticated since ancient times. Eggs are taken from the nests of the wild birds and the young hatched and reared by hens. They are fed on a special diet of termite eggs and larvae. Apparently guinea fowl will not breed in captivity and are usually killed as soon as they become full grown.

The native dog is almost extinct, due to repeated crossing with other breeds. It stands about 18 inches at the shoulder and is solid yellowish brown or black, with white under parts. The coat is medium long, fine and glossy. The tail is fringed and is carried low. The head is wide between the ears, with a muzzle of medium length and strong jaws. The ears are rather large, pointed, and erect. The animal appears stealthy in its movements and rarely barks.

Dogs are used to trail wild pig and to bring the animal to bay, [224]
so that it can be speared by the hunters. They are never used

231 [262] for herding or driving cattle and the natives seemed much surprised at the idea. They are not eaten and the idea is considered disgusting, although there is no definite taboo on it. There seemed to be no dogs in many villages and their economic importance is slight.

Cattle are all of the humped or zebu variety, with moderately long sideward curving horns. The size of the hump varies with the animal's age and condition and is hardly noticeable in many cases. There is a great variety of colors and markings, each known by a special name, but black and white seem to predominate. There are said to be a few wild cattle, descendants of escapes, which are very shy and live in the heavy forest.

233 The cattle belonging to each village are herded together by boys, with, in the old days, a few armed men for protection. During the day they are allowed to graze anywhere on land that is lying fallow. At night they are driven into pens, which are now on the outskirts of the villages. In the old days the pens were often in the village and the cattle were driven within the stockade if an attack threatened. 417 The Menabe cattle pens are like large, roughly built houses with thatched roofs and open sides. Among the Ikongo, who live in less rainy territory, the pens are usually open. They are made from posts planted about 2 feet apart and laced together with withes or vines. Two posts, planted one behind the other, stand on each side of the entrance, which is closed by dropping long saplings in between them. Semi-subterranean pens of the plateau type are unknown among the Tanala. The pens are never cleaned and in some I saw the manure had accumulated to a depth of over 3 feet.

422 618 233 The Ikongo have a regular system of ownership marks, made by cutting one or both ears in various patterns. These marks are hereditary in lineages and there are sometimes stories to account for their origin. Families within the lineage usually have no individual marks. The Menabe rarely earmark their cattle, their herds being so small that ownership is never in question.

232 There is no attempt at systematic cattle breeding and it does not seem to have occurred to the natives that their herds could be improved in this way. One informant expressed surprise when I told him of our methods, then said that after all the matter took care of itself, for the best bull would defeat the others and take all the cows.

825 Young bulls are often castrated, but solely with the idea of improving the flesh. A Menabe informant said that two bulls in a herd must always be castrated at the same time, so that they could

[i.e., dogs-Analyst]

give each other sympathy in their affliction. If one was castrated 825
alone, he would die of grief. The Betsileo have a similar belief, but I could not learn whether it was universal among the Tanala.

Most of the Tanala territory is poorly suited to cattle culture 233
because of the heavy forest and constant rain. It is only along the 311
western margin of their lands, where they border on the plateau, that one finds real grazing country. The Tanala herds are usually small and, although cattle have great social significance, they contribute little to the physical well-being of the people. They are [262]
only killed in connection with ceremonies, and the average Tanala does not taste beef once a month. Indeed, cattle killings are so [787]
rare that to dream of cutting or eating beef is a bad omen, presaging a funeral in the family. Hides are so little used that, until European [439]
traders provided a market for them, it was customary to cut up the animals without flaying them and cook meat and skin together.

The Menabe consider milk a luxury, and it is almost impossible 234
to purchase it in their territory. It is a by-product, taken only when 462
the cow seems to have more than enough to feed her calf. Milking, like everything else connected with cattle, is done exclusively by men. The explanation given for this is that it is a dangerous occupation. Actually, it is a laborious process, requiring three persons. One man holds the calf where the cow can see and lick it, another milks, usually squatting on the right side, and a third holds the cow's tail over her back and gently rubs her vagina with his fingers. The [252]
milk is boiled at once, while still warm. It is considered disgusting to drink it fresh. After boiling, it is either drunk or cooked with rice.

The Ikongo make more use of milk and are somewhat more expert 234
at milking, although they use the same method. They rarely boil 252
their milk. A little is drunk fresh, but most of it is deliberately soured. A little sour milk is always left in the milking gourd so that the new milk turns almost at once. The curds are eaten with a [264]
spoon and the whey drunk. None of the Tanala know how to make butter or cheese.

Apparently cow's milk was rarely if ever used to supplement or 853
replace mother's milk in feeding nursing infants. The idea has 177
recently been borrowed from Europeans, but it is still considered rather unnatural and is used only as a last resort.

The wheel and plow were unknown in Madagascar prior to 177
European contact. The Tanala never use their cattle for draught 492
or transport and this holds for the rest of the island, with one or two exceptions. The Imerina and Betsileo now use ox carts and

177 formerly had a few riding oxen. Both of these are due to European 492 contact. The Tsimahety, at the northern end of the plateau, use oxen as pack animals and apparently have done so since pre-European times. The loads are placed in cloth bags, which are slung across the animal behind the hump, one hanging on each side.

233 556 It is safe to say that if all the cattle belonging to the Tanala Menabe were destroyed over night, no member of the tribe would miss a meal or suffer any other serious hardship. Their loss would be somewhat more serious to the Ikongo, but they would still be able to get along quite well without them. In spite of this lack of practical value, cattle are everywhere of great social importance. [454] With the possible exception of slaves, which no longer exist, they represent the only form of interest-bearing investment possible under native conditions. Every man tries to accumulate as many as possible and his standing in the community is largely determined by [777] the size of his herd. Charms to increase the fertility of cattle are common and cattle are only sold or killed in case of absolute necessity. They are regarded almost as members of the family and the idiosyncrasies of each animal are well known. One informant told me that they are the only animals which possess souls. They are not regarded [782] as sacred, but the killing of an ox, either as a sacrifice or for meat, is an integral part of practically all important ceremonies.

685 556 Although the Tanala consider ordinary theft as one of the most serious of all offenses, cattle stealing is regarded as honorable so long as the members of one's own village are not molested. In fact, it is considered a proper occupation for a young man of spirit and offers an easy road to wealth and advancement. The native attitude is comparable to that of our own Plains Indians toward horse [721] stealing. Cattle formed the most important part of the spoil in warfare and a successful theft was in the nature of a war exploit. European efforts to suppress it have rather heightened the thief's prestige by increasing his hazards.

541 764 Bull baiting and watching fighting bulls were both important sports in pre-European times. They still persist, but are becoming rare. I could get no information on bull baiting among the Ikongo, but it was probably a regular part of important funerals there, as among the Menabe. In the latter group it was customary, in the course of the funeral festivities, to drive up one or two bulls. These were baited by the young men, who would incite them to charge and then avoid their rushes, swing by their tails, leap on their backs, etc. A favorite trick was to await the charge, catch the bull's

horns and vault over his head, alighting on one's feet. The present 541
natives say that the sport was designed to give the young men a [764]
chance to exhibit their strength and agility, but its almost exclusive association with funerals suggests that it may once have had a deeper significance. A good bull baiter enjoyed considerable prestige and there were numerous charms to insure success in the sport.

Watching fighting bulls seems to have been a commoner sport among the Ikongo than among the Menabe. There, villages would pit their best bulls against each other and wager heavily on the outcome. The men of the two villages would line up on opposite sides of the arena and beat the ground with heavy sticks to encourage their bulls. Excitement ran high and the meets often broke up in a fight.

In order to incite the bulls a young heifer was sometimes led up. Another method was to collect ticks filled with blood from the bulls themselves. A small patch of ground in the center of the arena was torn up as though bulls had been fighting there and the blood from the ticks squeezed out on it. It is said that when the most cowardly bull saw and smelled this he would stand and give battle.

Goats are much less numerous than cattle and several of the 231
Tanala gentes have taboos on raising them. The few animals I saw were large and shaggy, with long, well-developed horns. Most of them were black, but with a few black and white individuals. Goats are never milked and rarely killed for meat. As far as I could learn, they are never employed for sacrifices, although the gentes who raise them have no taboo against this.

Chickens are numerous in all villages and are the main source 235
of fresh meat. No breeds are recognized and those I saw were of 262
all sizes and colors. They are fed with the refuse of the rice pounding, but have to forage for most of their food and are, in consequence, lean and athletic. Eggs are considered a delicacy. Nests are made for the hens by splitting and spreading one end of a six-foot section of large bamboo, interweaving other bamboo splints to form a crude basket (Fig. 2, b). This is lined with straw. The nests are planted in the ground close to the sides of the dwelling. The overhanging eaves protect them from rain, while the smoothness and height of the bamboo give protection from snakes and other vermin. Sitting hens are usually kept in a corner of the dwelling. Hens with chicks are brought into the house every night until the young are old enough to fly. Grown birds roost on the roofs or in low trees. There are no wild chickens.

782 [437] Chickens are much used for small sacrifices, such as those made in fulfilment of vows. Usually only the head and feet are actually offered, the rest being eaten by the sacrificer. They are also largely used in payment of fees to midwives, circumcisers and medicine-men. [541] Cock fighting, which is an important sport in the plateau, seems to be rare or lacking among the Tanala.

235 *Dokotra*, the large native ducks, are valued much more than chickens and can be bought only at exorbitant prices. They are relatively rare and I never saw more than four or five in a village. Their eggs are considered a great delicacy. They usually sleep and nest in the dwelling.

PETS

231 The Tanala are moderately fond of pets. The *sefimbato*, an animal much like an ordinary tabby cat in size, color and general appearance, is sometimes caught young and tamed. It is allowed to run free and helps to keep down rats and mice. The natives say it does not breed in captivity. Apparently it will cross with the ordinary domestic cat, a recent introduction, but I could not learn whether the offspring are fertile.

In nearly all the villages I saw pet lemurs. Three or four species were represented, a medium-sized gray animal and the large black and white lemur being the commonest. They were always kept tethered by a band around the waist. They seemed to be imperfectly tamed, although this may have been partly due to my being a white man. However, I never saw a native attempt to fondle one and I was often warned that they would bite.

In the southern part of the Menabe territory I saw a few birds kept in cages of open wicker work. These were usually hung up outside, under the eaves of the houses, but I saw one fastened to the top of a long pole. The birds were small and looked like larks or thrushes. Although parrots are common in this region, they do not seem to be kept as pets.

HUNTING

224 [136] The heavy forests of the Tanala country contain many sorts of small game but the only large species are the wild pig and *fosa*, a cat-like carnivor related to the genets. These will attack a human being when cornered, but are not dangerous ordinarily. There are a few Tanala families who live in the forest and subsist entirely on game and wild plants, but they are not numerous. There are no hunting tribes and no individually owned hunting territories. The

bulk of the population hunts only for sport or to vary its regular 224 vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears which are shorter, heavier and broader in the blade than the ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely and hunters are not infrequently wounded or even killed. Lemurs, birds and other small game are hunted with the blow gun and there is a limited use of the bow (see Weapons).

Most animals are trapped. Pigs are caught with nooses spread across their runs. The noose is attached to a drag pole, 3 or 4 inches in diameter and about 5 feet long, which soon becomes entangled in the underbrush and holds the animal fast. They are also caught in a wooden cage with a drop door held up by a stick. The stick is jerked out by a spring pole which is held down by a trigger inside the cage. The cages are baited with lines of bait leading to them. Pitfalls for pigs are dug in the fields. They are about 4 feet across and 5 to 7 feet deep, with pointed bottoms so that the animal becomes wedged. Two sharpened bamboos are often set upright in the bottom. They are covered with a light framework of sticks and grass, and sweet potato vines are planted around and trained to grow over them.

Lemurs are caught in unbaited traps. These animals are arboreal and rarely descend to the ground. The natives cut long lanes, too wide for the animals to jump across, through the forest. At intervals these lanes are bridged by poles or long bamboos. In the center of each bridge a small V-shaped gate is fastened in such a way that the lemur must pass through it (Fig. 2, a). In the gate there is a slip noose connected with a spring pole or heavy stone held by a trigger in the gate. The animal thrusts its head into the noose and displaces the trigger so that the cord is drawn taut. The cutting of the lanes requires considerable labor, but the same ones may be used for years. Each lane belongs to the family which has cut it and no one else may set traps there. At the present time the government roads are often used in this way. The neighboring tribes say [422] that if a Tanala traps several lemurs at the same time he will release those he does not want, putting an earmark on them. If they are males he will also castrate them, so that they will grow large and fat. Anyone who catches such a marked animal is expected to return it to its owner. I neglected to verify this among the Tanala, but think it is probably true. The *trandra*, *sora* and *sokina*, hedge- [136] hog-like animals of which the *trandra* is the largest, are caught in kettle-shaped pits. The mouth of the pit is covered with grass, 224 with bait on top and trails of bait leading to it. These animals are common only on the eastern edge of the Tanala territory, where the forest is less dense. Rats are never eaten, but they often become a pest, destroying the stored rice. They are caught in a variety of traps. The simplest is a deadfall made from a large stone or billet of wood supported by three sticks arranged in a figure four, as in American rabbit traps. A more elaborate form has a wooden base with two upright pegs which pass through holes in the weight and serve to guide it in its fall. Here also the weight is supported by a figure four. Another trap is made from a length of large bamboo, with a spring pole and noose of small cord. The cord passes through a hole in the bamboo and the noose is spread around the interior of the joint, the cord above the noose being held down by a small trigger. The bait is put at the bottom of the joint, beyond the noose, and in trying to reach it the rat releases the trigger and is snared. The most interesting of the rat traps is made on the bow principle. Two heavy strips of springy wood are tied together at both ends. In the center a tube of bamboo is placed with a close-fitting wooden plunger. In the side of the tube there is a hole large enough to admit the rat's head. The bows are drawn apart until the plunger is at the level of the top of the hole. It is then fastened there by a cord which passes through perforations in the sides of the tube and under the end of the plunger. This cord is soaked in meat juice and when the rat gnaws it away the bows bring the plunger down with enough force to crush the animal's head (Fig. 2, c).

223 Guinea fowl are caught with a spring pole and noose held down by a trigger. The noose is laid flat on the ground with bait in the center and is surrounded by a fence of little sticks so that the bird will be sure to enter it. Guinea fowl are also caught by digging a little pit 3 or 4 inches deep and putting in the bottom a wooden cross with ground nuts impaled on the ends. A noose is spread about the sides of the pit, just below the edge. In attempting to pick out the nuts the bird, when it raises its head, displaces the noose and draws it taut. Long guinea snares with a series of hanging loops, which are used by the plateau tribes, do not seem to be employed by the Tanala. Hawks, which do a great deal of damage to the native poultry, are also caught in snares. A rod is laid on the ground supported on two little sticks half an inch high. A little chicken or duckling is bound to this and the noose spread around it, over the rod. When the hawk seizes its prey it lifts rod and all and the noose tightens about its feet. Ground birds other than guinea fowl are caught in cages

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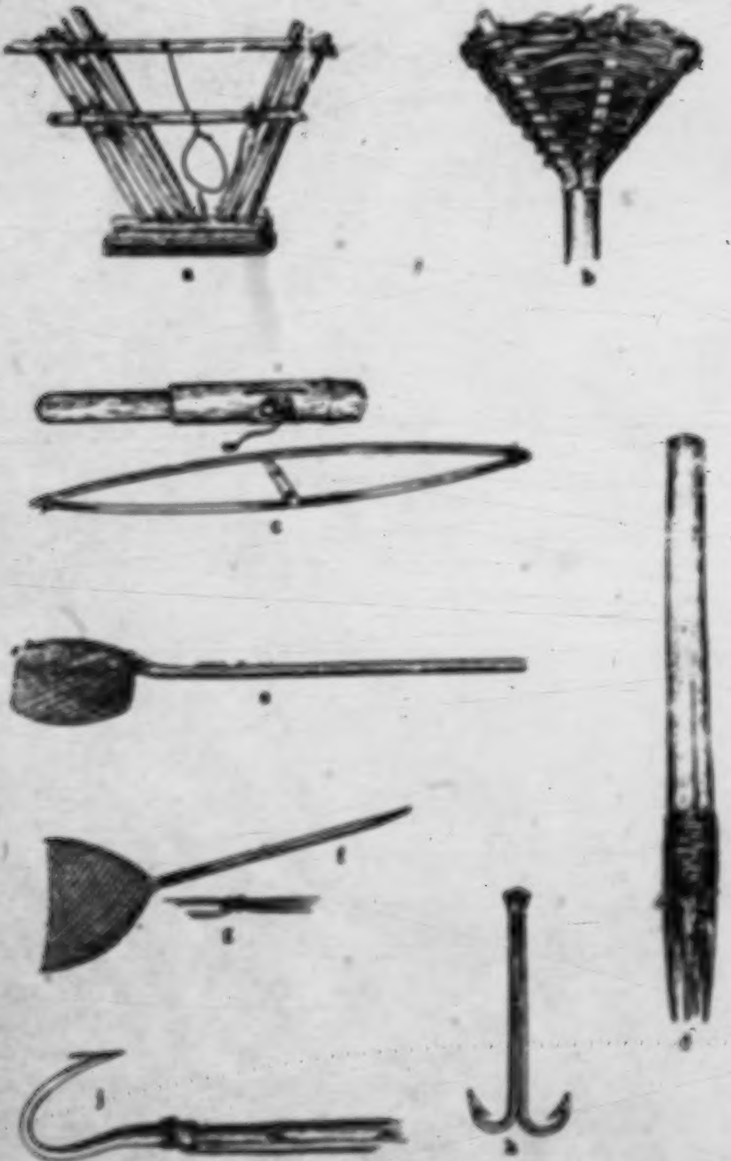

FIG. 2. Hunting and Fishing. a, Lemur Trap; b, Eel's Nest; c, Rat Trap; d, Fish Spear, Ancient Type; e, Basket Dip Net; f, Dip Net; g, Netting Tool; h, j, Eel Hooks.

223 of split bamboo which may have either a slide door released by a trigger or a conical entrance of grass, shaped like the entrance of a fish trap. When the bird enters the grass falls together and conceals the opening. Small birds are caught with snares made from the long hairs of a cow's tail or, rarely, human hair. These snares are set, several together, around a nest or on the ground near the village rice mortars, where the birds come to pick up the grain. Birds are also caught with bird lime, which is smeared on slender twigs or splints of bamboo and placed in trees where they congregate. There are several varieties of lime. The commonest is made from the sap [314] of a creeper called *tandrakosy*. This is chewed as it begins to solidify and is then ready for use. Another variety is made from the juice of the *samata* vine. This is kneaded into a cold, boiled sweet potato until the two are thoroughly mixed. The mixture is kneaded and washed in running water until the soluble portion has been removed. It is then ready for use. The best lime of all is made from the sap of the *samata* tree (not the vine mentioned above). The sap is collected in bamboo cups which are attached to the trunk of the tree below cuts, as in collecting rubber. The full cup is then put in an open fire and left until the bamboo has burned away. The viscid mass remaining is thoroughly washed and is then ready for use. This lime is very strong and will not dry for a long time. Twigs which had been smeared with it remained sticky for four months.

FISHING

226 Fishing is somewhat more important than hunting in the native economy, but there are no professional fishermen. Large fish are speared either in daylight or at night, with torches. Two types of spear are employed, a double-pointed, double-barbed iron spear called *firoka* and an unbarbed wooden spear with four points. This is made by splitting the end of a hardwood pole, inserting wedges to hold the points apart, and lashing the base of the head with split vines (Fig. 2, d). The wooden spears are now almost obsolete but are said to have been used by the aborigines of the Tanala country. Eels are caught with a large iron hook, either single or double (Fig. 2, h, j), attached to the end of a pole from 2 to 4 feet long. The hook has a single barb and usually a socket into which the head of the shaft fits loosely. A long cord is attached to the base of the hook by lashings. Eels sometimes grow as much as 8 feet long and when a large animal is struck the hook detaches itself from the pole and the eel is played with the cord until the fish becomes exhausted.

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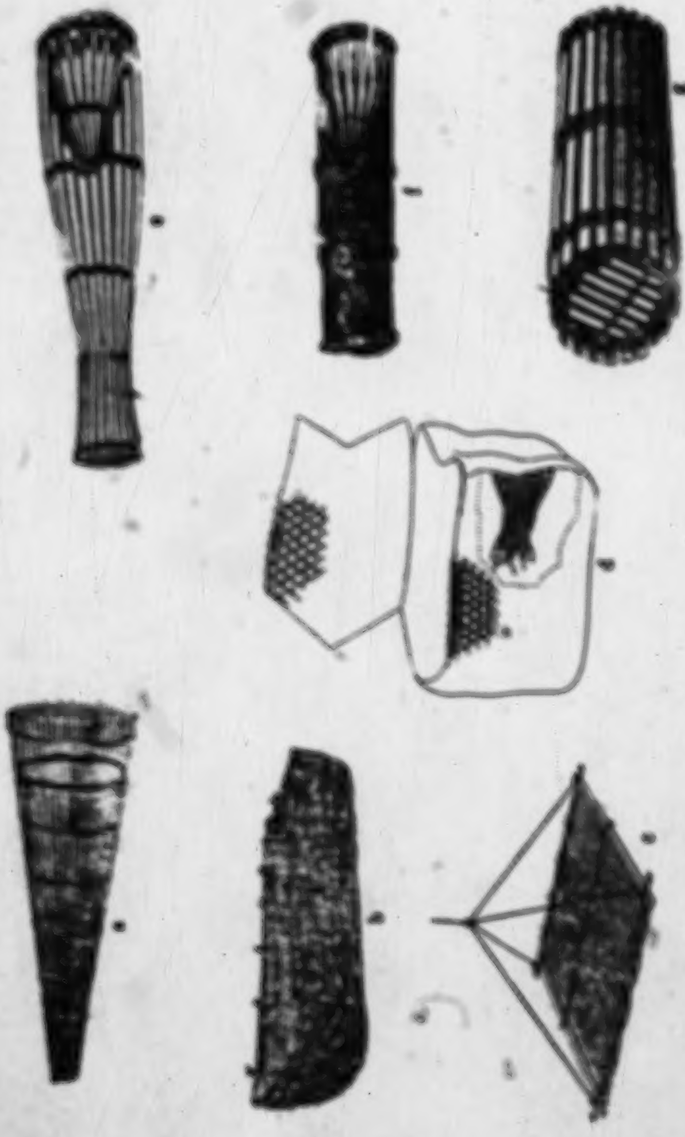

FIG. 8. Fish Traps. a, b, Fish Scoops; c, Fish Drying Frame; d, e, Bamboo Fish Traps; f, Bark Fish Trap; g, Eel Cage.

226 [462] The spear and eel hook are employed only by men but both sexes fish with the hook and line, using long flexible bamboo poles. The ancient Tanala fish hook was made of iron with a single barb. It had a flattened shank with a groove around it for the attachment of the line. At the present time trade hooks have entirely replaced the native article. The lines are made from twisted raffia or bark fiber. Set lines are used for eels. The neighboring coast tribes employ double-pointed bone gorges with these lines, in place of hooks, but the Tanala claim that they have never used gorges. The Tanala Ikongo make a considerable use of nets, employing both dip nets and seines. The dip nets, *fisoroka*, are made in the form of a pocket, the sides being threaded over the arms of a forked stick. When a suitable fork cannot be found, the frame is made by splicing on a second stick (Fig. 2, f). The ends of the fork are connected by a heavy cord, so that the opening of the net is triangular. The seines, *harato*, are often quite large. The floats are made from pieces of light wood, apparently a species of hibiscus, and the weights from stones. The net material is the bark of various trees, *lelahena*, *ariavy*, *haro-fotsy*, *etc.*, and two bushes, *tsipiaka* and *manasa*. The netting knot is shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 2, g). The Tanala Menabe say that they have had no nets until recent times and even now do not employ seines. Their dip nets are of two types, one like the Ikongo net already described, the other a sort of openwork basket woven from split vines. In the latter the ends of the forks are brought around and lashed together to form the rim of the weaving (Fig. 2, e). The dip nets are used for catching small fish in shallow water.

Two types of fish scoop (Fig. 3, a, b), are used by women for collecting small fish, larvae, etc. One of these is in the form of a half cylinder while the other is conical (see Matting and Basketry). There are also three types of fish trap: a cylindrical trap made from a roll of bark with a conical opening of bamboo splints (Fig. 3, f); a bottle-shaped trap made from split bamboo, with an entrance similar to that of the bark trap (Fig. 3, e); and a large, heart-shaped trap woven from split vines (Fig. 3, d) (see Matting and Basketry). The first two are used primarily for eels, the third for other fish. The traps are baited with cooked maize or manioc or with frogs, and left over night. Eels are often kept alive in cylindrical bamboo cages (Fig. 3, c).

Fish poisoning seems to be peculiar to the Tanala. I found no trace of it among either the plateau or coast tribes. The roots of the [illegible] tree are taken to the river and beaten on stones, the juice being allowed to float downstream with the current. The 226 fish rise to the surface stupefied or dead and are taken by hand. A large quantity of roots is required and the whole lineage or even village usually takes part. At the present time the method is rarely used, because of the labor involved.

The natives are very fond of two sorts of crayfish. One of these has short legs and large claws, like a lobster, while the other has long legs and no claws. Parties often go several miles from the village to catch crayfish in the small, swift mountain streams, staying out all night. The animals are usually caught by the light of torches, which stupefies them so that they can be picked up. In the daytime they are lured from their holes by means of a white or glittering object on the end of a stick. A bit of tin from a can is now used. They are then caught by hand or between two bits of wood, to avoid their claws.

Eels and other fish are preserved by smoking, without salt. They 251 are not cleaned. The smoking is done on small platforms of openwork bamboo which are hung over the fireplace in the dwelling (Fig. 3, c). In spite of the crudity of the method, fish preserved in this way can be kept for a year or more and, when cooked in native fashion, are hardly inferior to the fresh article. Fish are nearly [252] always boiled.

HONEY AND BEESWAX

Honey and beeswax are of great importance to all the Tanala. 231 The latter is one of their main exports. The native bees are rather [439] small and dark brown or black. Most of the swarms live in hollow trees or among the rocks, but the Tanala make hives, put them near old swarms, and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of [422] the hive, while wild swarms belong to the finder.

The hives are made from hollowed-out logs with loosely fitting, inset ends. The cracks around the ends are large enough to allow the insects to enter. The hives are usually 3 to 5 feet long and about 1 foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees, often as much as twenty feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals.

To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with 222 smoke from torches. The end of the hive is then pried out and all the comb removed at once, destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special form is used for collecting the honey (Fig. 4, e). The

222 bowl has four equally spaced lugs which are pierced vertically. Slender ropes of equal length pass through these and are tied together above the bowl, where a single long rope is attached. Sometimes the bowl is encased in rawhide, as a precaution against breakage. A few specimens are provided with flat wooden covers which slide on the four small ropes. The honey bowl is hung from a limb beside the hive and lowered to the ground when full.

257 The comb is taken to the village, where it is put into a sack of coarse matting (Fig. 4, b) and the honey squeezed out by means of a press made from a split log (Fig. 4, c). The sack is inserted between the halves and the projecting ends of the press wrapped with a rope. A short stick is then passed through the rope and pressure exerted by torsion. The solid end of the press is fastened to a post or the corner of a house. The honey is collected in a bowl below (Fig. 4, f).

After pressing, the honey is strained through cloth or matting and stored in deep, oval wooden boxes (Fig. 4, a). The sides of the box are cut from a single piece. The bottom is a separate piece, accurately fitted, inset, and cemented in place with beeswax or [531] gum. There is a tight-fitting lid. The honey boxes of the Zafimaniry [171] gens are often elaborately carved. Identical honey boxes are used by the Betsileo and Imerina, but are rare or lacking in other areas.

263 Honey is considered best after it has begun to thicken and crystallize and it is usually kept for some weeks or months before being used. It is used for sweetening other foods and also eaten alone, [273] like candy. Much of it is employed in the manufacture of *betsabetsa* ("honey beer") and rum.

237 After the honey has been pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect the wax. This is poured into shallow bowls, where [439] it solidifies. Most of the wax is exported. The natives themselves employ a little of it for coating blow-guns to make them airtight, for cementing the bottoms of wooden boxes, etc., but it is not important in their technology.

WILD VEGETABLE FOODS

222 137 The Tanala are familiar with a great variety of edible wild roots and fruits. These are gathered in their season, but are of little importance except in times of food shortage. At most, they afford a little variety to the standard diet of rice and boiled greens. The principal wild fruits are the *voasindriry*, *voandroy*, *voandongoza* and *via*. Wild roots include the *ovylava*, *ovytaretra*, *matiika*, *antady*, *hofika*, *pikopiko*, and *hafy*.

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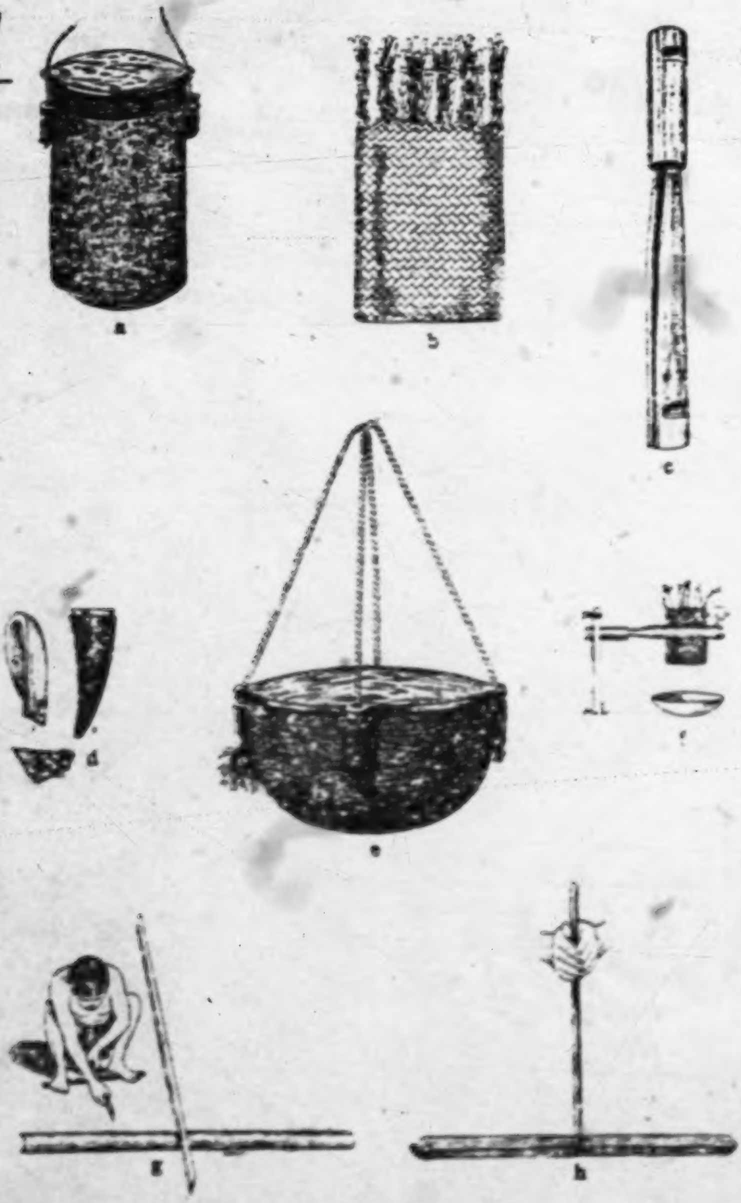

FIG. 4. Preparation of Honey; *Fire Making Apparatus*. a, Honey Box; b, c, f, Honey Press; d, Flint and Steel; e, Honey Bowl; g, Fire Saw; h, Fire Drill.

PREPARATION OF FOOD

FIRE MAKING

372 The Tanala make fire by the following three methods: the saw, the drill in two forms, and flint and steel. According to native traditions the saw, called *didiafo*, is the oldest and was the only method employed by the aborigines of the Tanala country. At the present time it is rarely used and seems to be unknown to the other tribes of Madagascar. The apparatus is made from very dry bamboo, a rounded section being employed as the bed and a straight, flat piece as the saw. A shallow transverse groove is cut in the round side of the bed, without piercing its inner surface. The operator squats on the ground holding the bed in front of and parallel to his body with his feet. The saw is grasped by both ends and its edge inserted in the groove. It is then drawn rapidly back and forth, at right angles to the body (Fig. 4, g). Charred cotton, as tinder, is placed under and around the bed. The spark may be caught either in the hollow under the bed, when the saw pierces its lower surface, or at the side when the glowing dust runs down. Operators seemed to have a good deal of difficulty in catching the spark, but this was probably due to lack of familiarity with the apparatus. The method is fairly rapid, the saw beginning to smoke in about thirty seconds.

The simpler form of fire drill (Fig. 4, h) has a rectangular bed about ¾ inch wide by ½ inch thick and 1 foot to 18 inches long. A slight depression is cut in the upper surface with a notch or groove running from it to the edge. The drill is about 14 inches long and ½ inch in diameter. It is made of hard wood while the bed is of soft wood. The operator squats, holding the bed with his feet or having it held by an assistant. He inserts the point of the drill in the depression in the bed and twirls the shaft rapidly between his palms. He begins near the top of the drill and, as he twirls, brings his hands down, then lifts them to the top again. Considerable pressure is exerted. Cotton tinder is piled beside the bed against the notch. Wood dust ignited by the friction is forced out through the notch into the tinder. Fire is made in from forty seconds to a minute. This method is used by all the Madagascar tribes with only slight variations.

Pump drills are also used for fire making, but are much rarer than the plain drills. The bed is like that just described. The drill shaft is made from soft wood with a hard wood head attached. The whorl is also of wood, in the shape of a figure eight. The pumping stick is usually 8 inches to 1 foot long. The cord attached to it

passes over a notch in the tip of the drill shaft (Fig. 5, f). In fire 372
making, one man holds the bed while another pumps the drill up and down with both hands. No pressure is applied to the upper end of the drill shaft. The time required to produce a spark is about the same as with the ordinary drill. Pump fire drills are also used by the Sihanaka and probably by other tribes, but they are nowhere common.

At the present time flint and steel is by far the commonest fire making appliance throughout Madagascar. The Tanala say that the historic clans, as distinct from the aborigines, have always used it. The striker is shaped somewhat like an adze blade, the narrow upper end being bent down over the back to form a grip (Fig. 4, d1). A variety of stones is used: flint, chalcedony, jasper and even quartz crystal. The tinder is made from charred cotton or cotton cloth. It is carried in the tip of a horn, the open end being provided with a tight stopper of gourd shell (Fig. 4, d3). The entire outfit is usually carried in a small box of wood or rawhide, in a horn, or in a hollow
hide belt. Tinder horns and belts are used by all the Madagascar 372
tribes, but the wooden tinder boxes appear to be limited to the 415
Tanala. Nearly all of them are manufactured by the Zafimaniry [438]
division, which trades them to the neighboring clans. At least 80 per cent of the boxes conform to a single pattern (Fig. 5, b). The body has a long oval section, with flat, squarely cut ends. It is hollowed from a single block of rather soft, light colored wood which exhibits a beautiful curling grain. The bottom, in the form of a long pointed oval, is made separately and inset, being held in place by pins of wood, bone or horn. It is usually of red wood. The cover is made from a moderately hard red wood and fits closely over a sort of sleeve or projection, so that the joint is almost watertight. Its outer surface is flush with the body. It is surmounted by a comb, the width of the flat ends of the box, which is notched along the upper edge. Holes are pierced horizontally through the ends of the body a short distance below the lid and through the base of the comb near either end. A long cord passing through these holds the cover on and also serves for suspension. In a second and much rarer type one side of the box is flat and the other convex (Fig. 5, c). The lid may have a low comb along the flat side, but usually has a low flange running across the flat side and extending forward for a short distance on the curved side, at either end. A single double box of this type was collected and a modification in which the body of the box was crescent shaped in section was seen. In a third type, which

372 is extremely rare, the body of the box is flat on one side and convex
415 on the other and tapers to a point at the bottom. Tinder boxes
are rarely if ever carved, but those of the first type are sometimes
[531] decorated with inset studs of metal or bone. They are always
finely finished and with use and repeated oiling acquire a high polish.
When traveling they are worn hanging on the breast or, rarely, at
the belt.

281 Rawhide tinder boxes are rarely used by the northern Tanala,
415 only two examples having been seen. They are made from long,
rectangular strips of hide with the hair removed. While the hide
is still soft, two-thirds of the strip is folded back upon itself and sewn
together along the edges with a thong, forming a pouch. The remaining
third is then bent down over this as a cover. Slits are cut in
the rear of the pouch, or strips are sewn on, so that it can be strung
[531] on the belt. The flap is usually decorated with tooled designs
(Fig. 5, a). This type seems to be peculiar to the Tanala, but hide
tinder boxes of a different form are used by the Bara and other
southern tribes.

321 The horn tinder boxes are made from sections of cow horn 8 to
415 18 inches long. The edges of the open end are cut off smoothly
except at the inside of the horn's curve, where a rectangular projection
about 1 inch wide and ½ inch to 1 inch long is left. An oval
piece of wood, which has on one side a projection corresponding to
that on the horn, is fitted into the opening and fastened solidly
with wooden or horn pins. In the center of this there is an oval
opening about 1 inch in diameter which is closed by a close fitting
cork or stopper. This stopper is attached to the projection on the
side of the horn by a short piece of cord. Heavier cords are attached
to the horn at both ends so that the whole can be worn as a belt,
the curve of the horn fitting against the wearer's side. The cords
[531] are of braided raffia (Fig. 5, e). Such boxes are rarely decorated
but in one specimen the end of the horn has been cut into a series
of knobs. Similar boxes are used by practically all the Madagascar
tribes.

281 The hollow belts are made from the skin of a cow's tail drawn
off whole. The skin is dried and flattened, the hair being left on.
415 The smaller end is sewn up and a loop of hide attached. The larger
end is pierced near either side. A wide thong is split for several
inches and the ends of the split portion passed through the holes
in the belt and fastened to either end of a flat strip of bamboo. The
other end of this thong and the loop sewn to the smaller end of the

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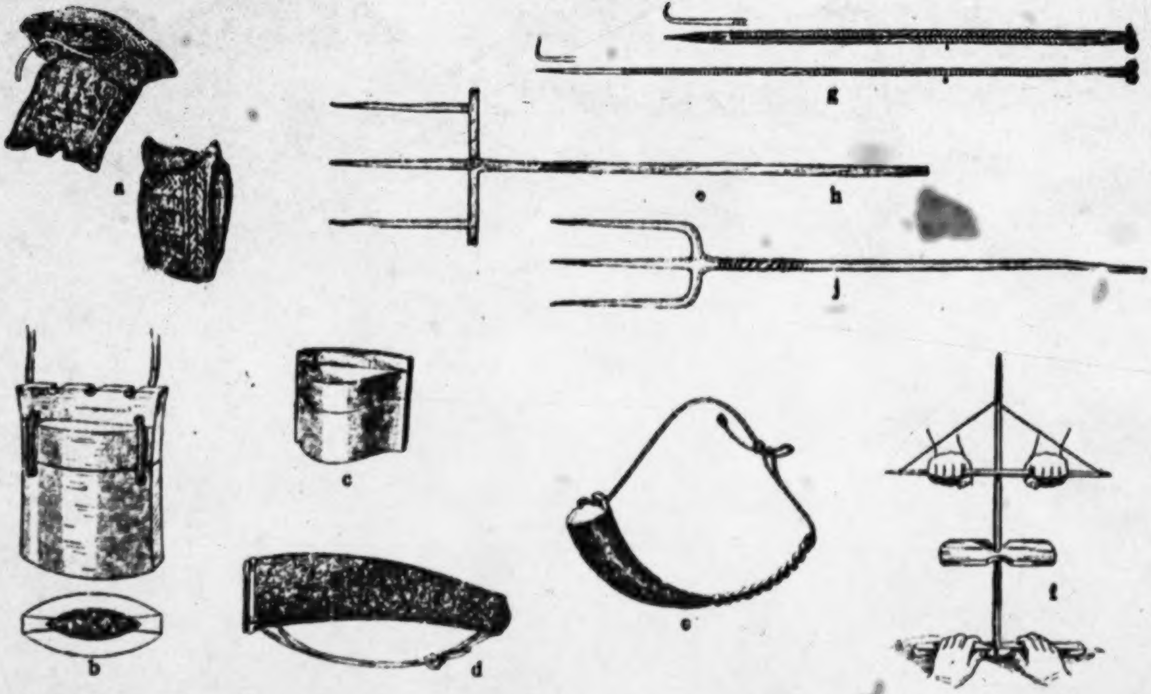

FIG. 5. Tinder Boxes, Meat Hooks and Toasting Forks. a, Rawhide Tinder Box; b, c, Wooden Tinder Boxes; d, Belt Tinder Box; e, Horn Tinder Box; f, Pump Fire Drill; g, Meat Hooks; h, j, Toasting Forks.

281 415 tail are tied together. The tension draws the strip of bamboo against the belt, closing the opening (Fig. 5, d). Similar belts are used by the southeast coast tribes but are rare or lacking elsewhere in Madagascar.

POTTERY

323 173 According to the legends and traditions of the Tanala Menabe, the Zafimaniry were the only gens of that division to manufacture or use pottery in ancient times. Later, several other gentes learned the art from them and from the Betsileo, but they never became good potters and abandoned clay vessels as soon as iron pots became common. It is remembered that the pottery was limited to crude cooking pots except among the Zafimaniry, who had bowls and water jars as well, but the methods of manufacture and even the shapes have been forgotten.

[114] According to the manuscript of Sadaro Antoine the Tanala Ikongo manufactured cooking pots as recently as twenty years ago. The ware is said to have been hard and well fired. It was given a black, glossy finish by rubbing it with graphite.

A number of Madagascar tribes, including all those on the east coast, make no pottery. Other tribes, who now use it, say that they have only begun to do so within the last five or six generations. It seems probable that it was introduced into Madagascar in relatively [177] late times. The local center for its diffusion seems to be among the Imerina and Betsileo, in the plateau, with a possible second center among the northern Sakalava, on the west coast.

METHODS OF COOKING

252 In describing the methods of Tanala cooking it is necessary to distinguish between the ancient methods, in vogue before the introduction of pottery and later of iron pots and toasting forks, and those now in use. At present the former survive only as a part of ceremonial, or as makeshifts used in the absence of proper utensils.

Traditionally, the earliest method of preparing rice was to crack the grains and toast them over a fire. This survives as a feature of the harvest sacrifice (see Agriculture), but is otherwise obsolete. Later, rice and other vegetable foods were boiled in large joints of green bamboo. The joint was propped up in an open fire and the food would be cooked before it burned through.

Meat was laid on a bed of coals or cooked in a sort of earth-oven called *antongatra*. A hole was dug and lined with large leaves. The

meat was cut, each piece wrapped in leaves, and the whole packed 252
in. Stones, heated in a near-by fire, were placed on top and the whole covered with more leaves, but no earth or embers. The moisture from the meat and leaves made a little broth, which collected in the bottom of the hole. This method continued in use long after the introduction of pottery and one locality is still known as Antongatra because it was the usual practice of the people living there.

Calves or small cattle were sometimes cooked whole by means of thick spongy vines of two species called *vahipika* and *vahimarana.* The ends of two or three of these vines were inserted into each nostril and into the anus, while the other ends were put in a fire. The hot sap and steam conducted into the animal in this way cooked it thoroughly. It is said that this method is still used by cattle thieves when they wish to devour their booty on the spot.

At the present time nearly all food is boiled in iron pots obtained 415
from the traders. Such pots are highly valued and when a Tanala [177]
leaves his own territory to work in a town he will usually purchase
one with his first wages. Some native families have a number of [556]
them displayed on the shelf above the fireplace as a sign of wealth.
They are readily loaned to neighbors or travelers, but etiquette [426]
requires that the borrower leave a little food in the pot when he
returns it. Pots are supported in the fire by a low tripod made from three pointed stones bedded in the earth of the fireplace.

The amount of rice to be cooked for a meal is measured out by 252
means of a small, stiff basket. This is of standard size and holds [804]
slightly more than the cup used as a unit in our own recipes. One measure of dry rice is allowed for each adult, with a smaller measure for each child. In some houses I saw a number of graduated rice measures, used for children of different ages.

The rice, which has previously been pounded and winnowed, is washed until the water drains off clear. It is then put in the pot with about twice its amount of water. It is allowed to boil dry. Most of the grains are crisp and flaky, but a layer of burned rice adheres to the vessel. After the unburned rice has been taken out, water is put in the pot, stirred and brought to a boil. This water, which tastes somewhat like weak coffee, is drunk with the meal and is considered a delicacy. As a luxury, rice may be boiled with milk or broth. It is rarely if ever salted while cooking.

Although boiled rice is the staple diet, it is never served without 262
a side dish of some sort to give it flavor. Even the very poor have boiled greens, made from the leaves and shoots of a great variety

262 of plants. Thick stews of beans or ground nuts are the commonest accompaniment. Sweet potatoes are also eaten with rice, but manioc rarely is, because it is too tasteless.

252 Eggs, meat and fish are considered luxuries. Eggs are always boiled. Large fish are allowed to boil dry and then browned in their own grease. Meat is usually boiled, the broth forming an important part of the meal. Iron meat hooks with ornamental handles are used to remove it from the pot (Fig. 5, g). Meat may also be cut into thin steaks and broiled over a bed of coals. Iron toasting forks with three, five or seven tines are used for this (Fig. 5, h, j). At the present time, broiling is not popular, partly because much of the fat is lost and partly because of the extreme toughness of the native beef.

263 The only materials used for seasoning are potash, salt and chilies. The potash is a substitute for salt and now that the latter has become cheap and plentiful it is only used for variety. The natives say that it must be taken sparingly, as it is bad for the digestion. Potash is made by burning the roots of a certain rush, mixing the ashes with water, and straining off the liquor. The strainers are of matting, triangular at the rim and tapering to a point (Fig. 6, a). The liquor is put in shallow, wooden bowls and allowed to evaporate. The potash is pale gray and granular and is readily crumbled with the fingers.

263
[251] 439 Salt has always been obtained in trade. Formerly it came from the east coast, where the natives made it by evaporating sea water. It brought a high price locally and Tanala who left their territory to serve as bearers would bring back as much of it as they could. Even now it has an exaggerated value in the eyes of the natives. Traders told me that a handful of salt given with a purchase would delight them more than a gift of three or four times its real value.

263 The native salt comes in large, creamy white crystals. It is somewhat coarser than that we use in making ice cream. It often contains earth and other impurities and the Tanala dissolve it, pass it through strainers like those used in potash making, and then recrystallize it. It is kept in small gourds, joints of bamboo, or little sacks of cloth or matting.

415
263 The salt has to be crushed before use and every household has one or more small wooden mortars for the purpose. These mortars are commonly shaped like an hourglass and have a tight-fitting cover (Fig. 6, c). Sometimes two mortars are joined side by side, one being used for salt and the other for chilies (Fig. 6, d). There

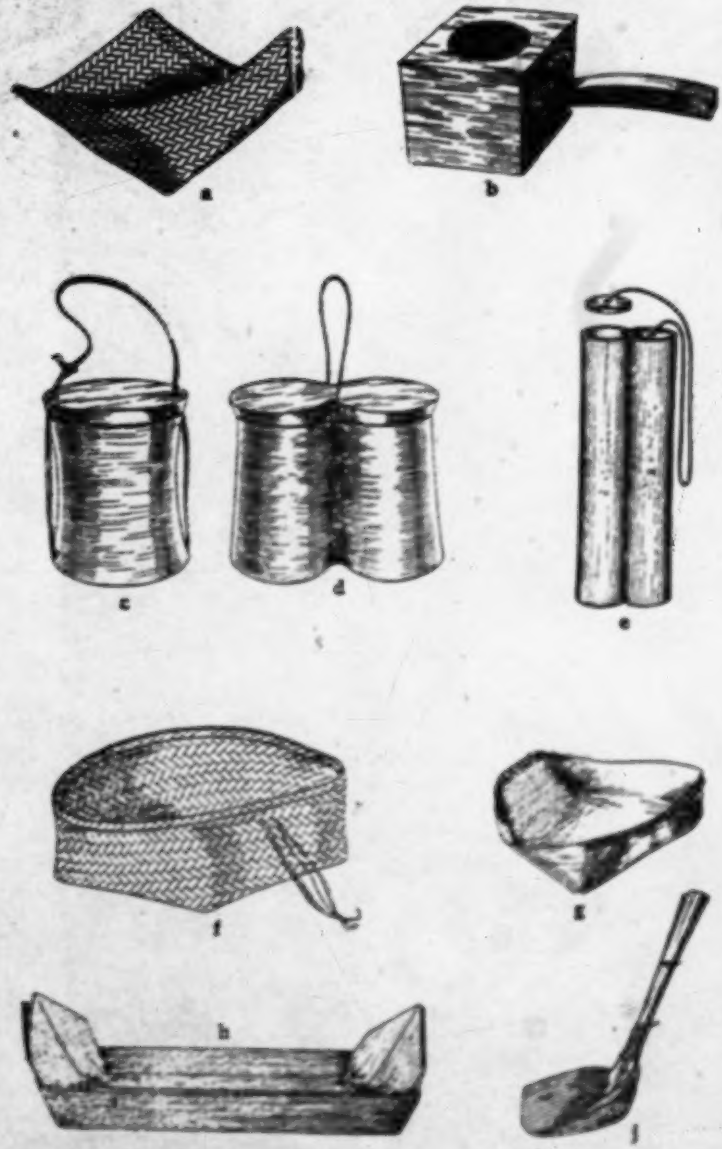

FIG. 6. Utensils. a, Salt Strainer; b, c, d, Salt Mortars; e, Bamboo Condiment Box; f, Basket Rice Dish; g, Pandanus Leaf Dish; h, Leaf Dish; j, Leaf Spoon.

415 263 are a few other forms and one rectangular salt mortar, with a handle, was collected (Fig. 6, b).

The native chilies are small, rarely over an inch in length, and bright red. They are extremely hot. The natives pound them up, seeds and all, in mortars similar to those used for salt. They are usually taken fresh from the bushes, which seem to be in bearing most of the year, but are occasionally dried.

Salt and chilies are sprinkled over the food after it has been served, each person seasoning his portion according to his taste.

UTENSILS

415 184 In describing Tanala utensils it is necessary to distinguish between the Zafimaniry gens, with its immediate neighbors, and the other members of the tribe. The Zafimaniry, who are recent immigrants from the plateau, resemble the Betsileo in their extensive use of wooden utensils and drinking horns. These have been diffused to the gentes in contact with them. The other Tanala gentes rarely use wooden utensils and have no drinking horns. In this respect they resemble the tribes of the east coast.

It seems curious that in a heavily forested region the only group to use wooden utensils should be one which has come from an area in which wood is much less abundant, but there are other anomalies as well. None of the Tanala employ bark utensils, although there is plenty of good material available. Gourds, which grow well in the region, are very little used. The Menabe have practically no gourd utensils. The Ikongo use gourds for milk bottles, but this is probably in imitation of the Bara.

415 314 264 All the Tanala, except the Zafimaniry, serve their boiled rice on small square mats or in shallow rectangular baskets (Fig. 6, f). The basket or mat is first covered with a layer of green leaves. Liquids are served in short joints of bamboo or in leaf dishes. These dishes are made from pandanus or other long, broad leaves which are folded to make an oblong receptacle. Usually the ends of the leaf are simply turned up and tied (Fig. 6, h). There are a few well-made dishes of pandanus in which the ends are cut short, folded and sewn together. A narrow splint of bamboo is used to reinforce the end (Fig. 6, g). Spoons are made from strips of leaf, folded and tied (Fig. 6, j). All except the sewn dishes are made from green leaves and renewed at every meal.

415 Large wooden ladles are used by all the Tanala for dishing food from the pot (Fig. 7, d). Some of those used at feasts and sacrifices

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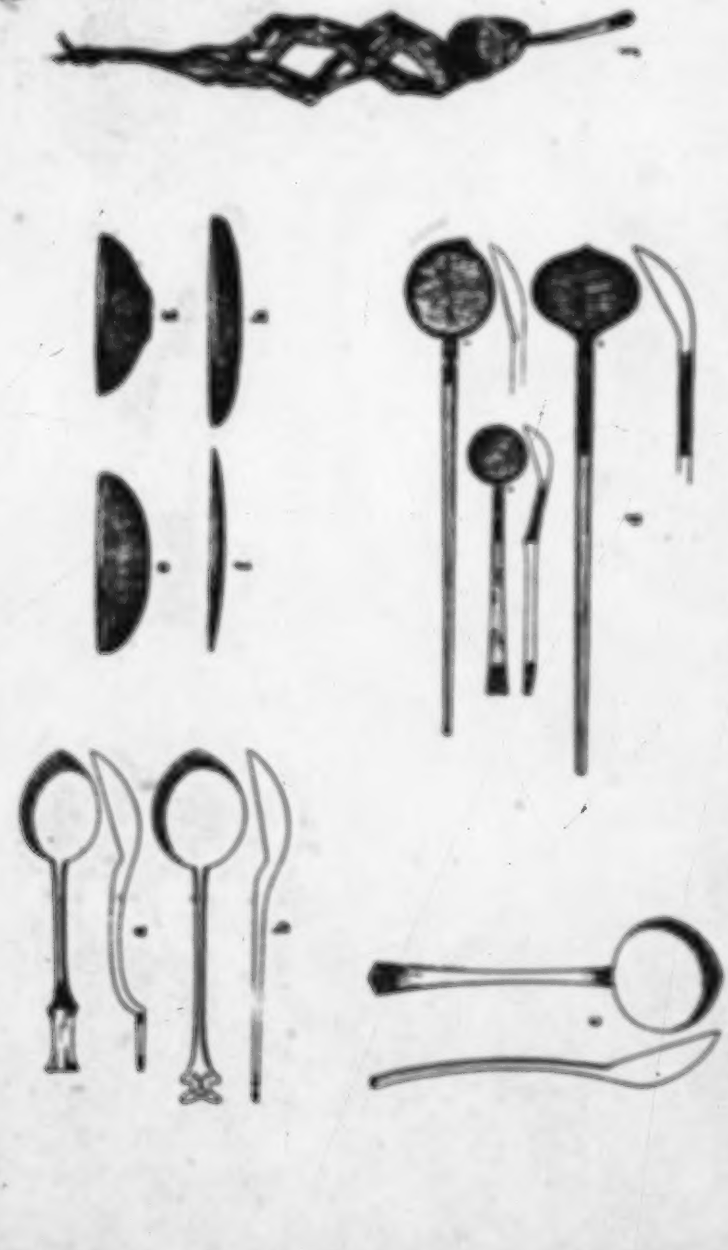

FIG. 7. Wooden Utensils. a, b, c, Wooden Spoons; d, Wooden Rice Ladles; e, f, g, h, Wooden Bowls; j, Spoon Hanger.

415 are nearly 3 feet long. At the present time, families often have one or two wooden bowls, but these have mostly been gotten in trade. White enamel ware and metal spoons are just beginning to come into common use.

The Zafimaniry do not use mats for serving rice and have no leaf dishes or spoons. Small, finely woven baskets are sometimes used for individual servings of rice, but this is not common. All food is regularly served in wooden bowls or platters. These vary considerably in size and depth and may be either round or oval (Fig. 7, e, f, g, h). Bowls sometimes have a low base. In several specimens there is a small lug protruding from one side, just below the rim. A loop of cord is passed through this and the bowl is hung up by it when not in use. Oblong bowls or platters, with four short legs, are used for cutting up and serving meat (Fig. 8, a, b).

412 One of the most characteristic Zafimaniry utensils is that used for grating ginger root. It is long and narrow, with four short legs and a spout (Fig. 8, d). In the center of the bottom, a number of
[53] small bone studs are set in the form of a rosette. The shape is said to represent a crocodile, but none of my informants knew the significance of this. The ginger graters are used in preparing some kinds of medicine.

415 Two unique specimens were collected: a small platter with a design carved on the bottom in relief (Fig. 8, c), and a small, finely
[53] made bowl with a close-fitting cover and cords for suspension. The latter was used as a trinket box (Fig. 8, e).

The Zafimaniry use small wooden spoons. The shape is much like that of European ones, except for the decorative handle (Fig. 7, a, b, c). Horn and bone spoons seem to be unknown, although they are commonly used by the Betsileo.

[321] The horns of cattle are used as drinking and libation cups. The finest, used in ceremonies, are nearly 2 feet long. The horns are scraped and polished and their tips are sometimes carved into simple forms. One specimen, used as a libation horn, has a design of small circles incised a short distance below the rim (Fig. 9, a, b).

All the Tanala use sections of large bamboo, from 6 to 10 feet long, as water bottles. The septa are burned out with a hot iron. The open end of the bottle is usually cut at an angle, so as to form a sort of spout. The bottle is usually kept leaning against the wall in a corner of the house. When water is needed, one person tilts it while another holds a bowl below.

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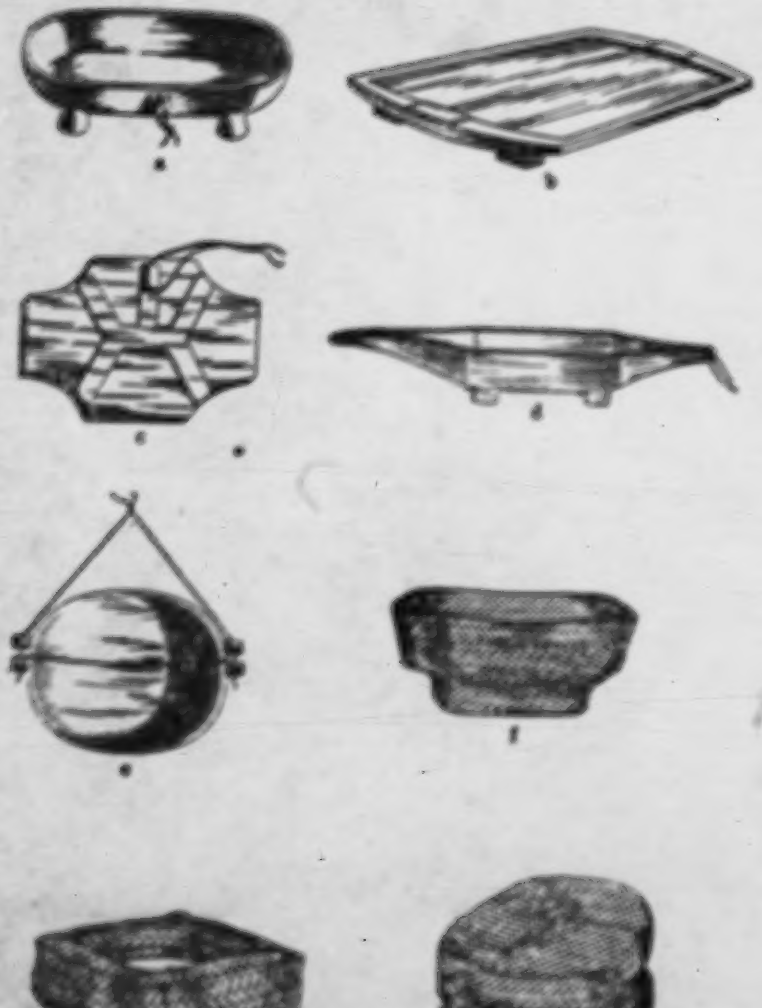

FIG. 8. Wooden Utensils and Dish Stands. a, Oval Bowl; b, Platter for Cutting Meat; c, Platter for Cutting Meat (Bottom); d, Ginger Grater; e, Covered Bowl; f, g, h, Basket Dish Stands.

CUSTOMS IN EATING

264 [512] The Tanala family rises at dawn and goes to work at once, to take advantage of the morning coolness. If any food is left from the previous night's meal, there will be a cold breakfast, but no cooking is done at this time. The first regular meal is served a little before noon and the second at sunset. Hospitality is casual and universal. Anyone who is in the house when a meal is ready partakes as a matter of course.

On all ordinary occasions the food is regularly served, not eaten from the pot. The woman of the house spreads a clean mat on the floor near the fireplace and everyone washes his hands and mouth. The woman then dishes out the rice and vegetable foods while the man divides and distributes the meat, if there is any. The husband's rice, and that of honored guests, is served separately, while the woman [554] and children eat from a common dish. In most gentes it is customary to place the dish of the husband or guest on a small stand of basketwork, 1½ to 2 inches high (Fig. 8, f, g, h). This symbolizes his elevation above the rest of the household.

The rice is served first. When a mound of it has been piled on each dish, the woman flattens the top of it with the back of her rice ladle and pours on the other food. The salt and pimento mortars have been placed on the mat and each one seasons his own food with them. The head of the house is served first and no one else can begin eating until he has commenced. Each person has his own spoon and it is considered the height of ill manners to plunge the hands into the common dish. Foods which have to be eaten with the fingers, such as meat, are served separately. Simple forks, made [412] from straight pieces of bone, are sometimes used.

The natives usually eat rapidly and almost in silence. When the food has been consumed, the hands and mouth are washed again and everyone relaxes. They loll about and chat for a half hour or more. The woman gathers up the dishes and throws the scraps of food out of the door, to the chickens. Wooden utensils are washed after each meal and hung up to dry. Spoons, after washing, are placed in small openwork baskets (Fig. 13, f) or thrust through holes in a narrow strip of matting (Fig. 7, j). These spoon holders are usually hung from the center post of the house, above the fireplace. The cooking pots are rarely washed, this being considered a waste of time.

261 The natives have enormous appetites. A Tanala man will eat two to three times as much, by bulk, as a white laborer. They are

extremely fond of grease and sweet things of all sorts, but seem to have little taste discrimination. All their cookery is simple and the main thing they require of a meal is quantity. 261

Although the native food is simple and not very varied, their ration seems to be well balanced. There are no diseases of malnutrition and I did not see a single rachitic child among natives who adhered to their primitive diet. 146

ALCOHOL AND NARCOTICS

Beer, called *betsabetsa*, has been used by the Tanala since prehistoric times. It is usually made from a mixture of honey and water, but the natives also employ sugar cane juice, bananas, sweet potatoes and anything else with a high sugar content. The mixture is allowed to stand in open jars for a few days, until it ferments, and then drunk before it turns sour. 275

Rice beer was made in ancient times, but it is now obsolete and I could not learn the process of manufacture. There are some indications that it was formerly used in ceremonies and sacrifices very much as rum is used at the present time. It is said to have been somewhat stronger than the modern beer.

Most of the native beer is so mild that it is impossible to become intoxicated upon it. It is of little importance in the native diet and there is nothing comparable to the regular beer drinking one finds among the African tribes. Women occasionally make it for their families, as a treat, and quantities of it are prepared for feasts, but a household may go for weeks without having any.

The manufacture of rum (*toaka*) was probably learned from Europeans, but it has been in use for at least a hundred and fifty years. It is distilled from beer of any sort although honey beer and sugar cane juice are preferred because of their greater alcoholic content. Pieces of astringent bark are usually steeped in the beer before it is distilled, to give the rum more flavor. The still consists of a large jar with a tight-fitting cover. In one side of the cover there is a small hole in which a long section of bamboo, or an old gun barrel, is inserted. The joints are sealed with clay. [177]

Rum is regularly offered to the gods and ancestors and is also a prescribed part of the fees paid to medicine-men, the gifts given to witnesses of adoption, blood brotherhood, etc. Good rum is as colorless as water. At the present time, clear glass bottles are in great demand among the Tanala, who will pay two or three times as much for them as for colored glass. These are used as containers for cure- [782] [757]

273 remonial rum, so that everyone can see the excellence of the liquor. The rum is always drunk without aging and is extremely potent. Quantities of it are drunk at feasts and it is felt that a person who does not get intoxicated at such a time has failed to enter into the
133 spirit of the occasion. However, there seems to be little or no solitary drinking and alcoholism is almost unknown.

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249 Tobacco is universally used by both men and women. The local variety grows from 3 to 4 feet high and is large leaved and white flowered. It is probably a variety of *Nicotiana tabacum*. It is never regularly cultivated, the plants growing wild in abandoned *tavy* and on old village sites. The Tanala are thoroughly convinced that it is a native plant.

276 The leaves are plucked when they begin to turn yellow and skewered side by side on a sliver of bamboo thrust through the bases of the stems (*Fig.* 9, *d*). The bunches are hung up in the shade until moderately dry, then brought into the dwelling and hung over the fireplace, where they soon become black with smoke. They are usually left in the smoke until used, but if the coating becomes too thick they may be taken down and hung in some other part of the house. Because of their brittleness, they are handled as little as possible.

177 The Tanala Menabe never smoke their own tobacco. A few of the younger men now use European cigarettes, but this seems to be an affectation. The Ikongo men smoke a little. Two types of pipe are employed, a straight pipe and a water pipe. The straight pipes are about 5 inches long, made from joints of bamboo about ½ inch in diameter. One end is sometimes inserted in the neck of a brass cartridge shell with the base cut off. The whole pipe looks very much like a cigarette holder. These pipes are identical with those used by the Bara and were probably borrowed from them (*Fig.* 9, *e*).

The water pipe is made from a maize stalk about 2 feet long. The upper joints are hollowed out and a short section of reed is thrust through the side of the stalk into the lower cavity. On the end of the reed a small bowl is impaled. This may be made of clay, but is usually hollowed from a bit of manioc root and renewed at each smoking. The bowl and reed form an acute angle with the maize stalk (*Fig.* 9, *c*). The stalk is filled with water to nearly the level of the bowl. The smoker squats on his heels, resting the lower end of the pipe on the ground. This type of pipe is identical with that used by the southeast coast tribes.

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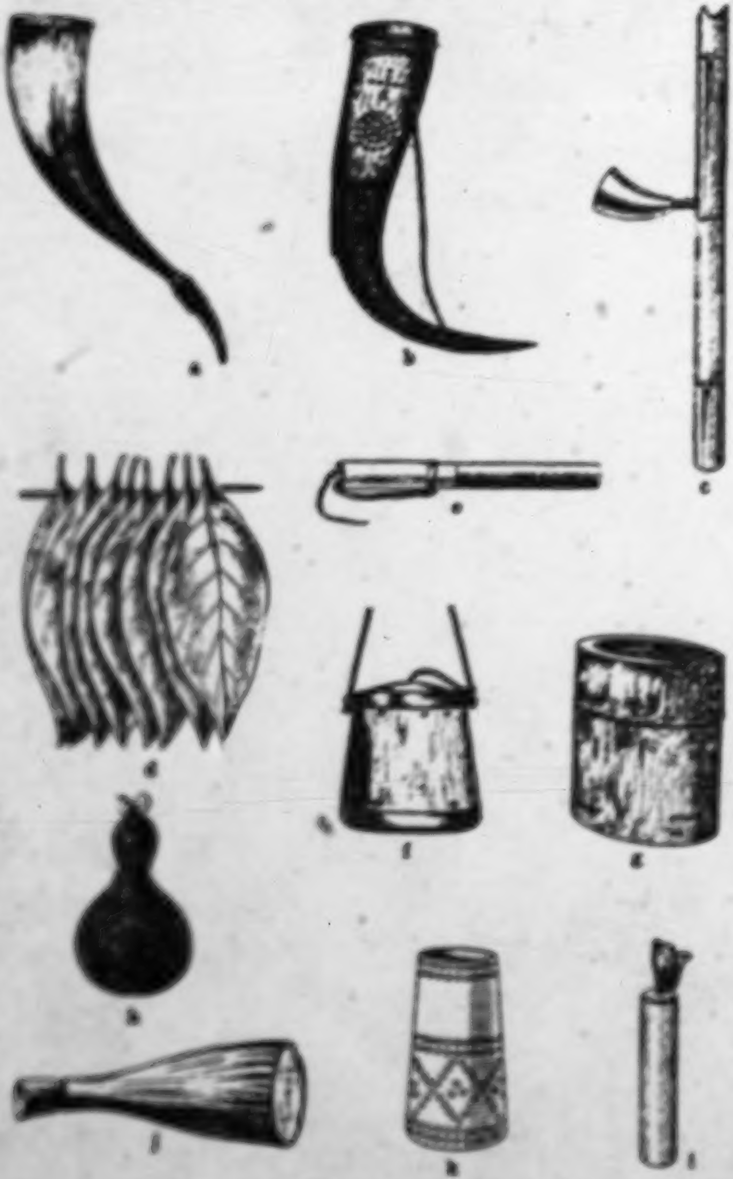

8. Drinking Horns, Pipes and Snuff Boxes. a, Drinking Horn; b, Libation Horn; c, Water Pipe; d, Tobacco Leaves; e, Tobacco Pipe; f, Snuff Box or Purse of Horn; g, Snuff Box of Wood, [illegible]; h, Gourd Snuff Box; j, Snuff Horn; k, Bone Snuff Bottle; l, Bamboo Snuff Box.

276 All the Tanala employ tobacco in the form of snuff. To make this, a leaf is toasted over the fire until it begins to change color, then crushed to powder in a small mortar and mixed with a fixed proportion of sifted wood ashes. The ashes are prepared from several different plants and they, rather than the tobacco, seem to be considered the important ingredient. As a rule, each person makes his own snuff, mixing the ashes to suit his taste. It is made up a little at a time, as it is thought to lose flavor if kept. Snuff is carried in small boxes made from bamboo, horn, bone, or small gourds (Fig. 9, f, g, h, j, k, l). In taking it, a little is poured out on the palm and tossed into the open mouth with a quick movement. It is never snuffed.

It is doubtful whether the narcotic properties of hemp were known to the Tanala in pre-European times. A few of the younger men now smoke it in water pipes like those used for tobacco, but the practice is rare.

MANUFACTURES

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The work of the family is rather evenly divided between husband and wife. The man takes complete charge of the cattle, hunts, cuts and burns the jungle for the *tavy*, does most of the fishing and builds the house and keeps it in repair. He is not expected to do any of the house work, but will often relieve his wife by helping with the cooking and tending the baby. The woman tends the house and children, cooks, draws water and pounds rice, the last two being heavy tasks. Both sexes work in the *tavy*, but women do most of the cultivation in the small gardens and in the fields of wet rice.

All manufactures are rigidly assigned to one or the other sex. Men do all the work in metal, wood, bone, horn and hide. They also weave certain types of mats and baskets and make bark cloth. Women make the balance of the mats and baskets, do all weaving of cloth, and make the family garments and keep them in repair. The only exceptions to this rule are the *sarombavy* ("berdaches"), who adopt the women's industries as part of their role.

ARTISANS

[463] The only professional artisans are smiths and a very few stone-
cutters, who prepare the memorial stones. Smiths may be drawn
326 from any *gens* and do not form a separate caste. The occupation
[428] tends to be hereditary, but anyone may enter it. There is no formal

326 apprenticeship. A boy who becomes interested in the trade will hang about the smith's workshop, blowing the bellows for him and doing other minor tasks. Finally he will be allowed to help with the forging and may accompany the smith on his travels. When he thinks that he knows the trade, he will set up in business for himself. No regular payment is made to the teacher, but if the new smith prospers, it is customary for him to visit his former master, thank him publicly, and present him with an ox.

Every smith has a house and land in some particular village and spends most of his time there. During the slack season between harvest and the next planting, the smiths travel about repairing old implements and forging new ones. When a man is in need of the smith's services, he first bargains with him, then, when the price has been fixed, takes him into his house and feeds him until the task is completed. Smiths seem to be much more numerous among the Ikongo than among the Menabe.

324 The stonecutters are mostly Betsileo living among the Tanala. They go where their services are required and are similarly boarded during the work.

777 As far as I could learn, there are no ceremonial observances or taboos connected with any industry. There seem to be no charms to give success in occupations, with the possible exception of house building, although I was unable to get a satisfactory check on this for metal working.

METAL WORKING

According to Tanala traditions, the aborigines of their territory 325
were ignorant of the use of metal, but the ancestors of all the invading 135
gentes were familiar with iron at the time they entered the region.
The next metal to become known to them was silver. There are no
known deposits of silver ore in Madagascar and the metal was [439]
certainly obtained from Arabs or Europeans. Nevertheless, the
Tanala have no legends of its introduction. It has been thoroughly
incorporated into the culture, figuring in the invocations to the gods
and in a number of rites and ceremonies. In general, it seems to
occupy the place that gold occupies among the tribes of the plateau
and west coast.

Gold, in the form of dust or small nuggets, is found throughout much of the Tanala territory, but the Tanala themselves make no use of it and seem to have no beliefs in regard to it. It does not figure in any ceremony, and is mentioned in only one or two invocations.

325 135 It seems probable that the Tanala were ignorant of its value, if not of its existence, until they were instructed by foreign traders. A few abandoned gold workings have been found by prospectors, and one or two caches of gold dust, but there is no way of determining their age.

325 439 Copper is still almost unknown, the only objects in use being a few bracelets obtained from the Betsileo. Brass, in the form of ornamental knife hilts and bracelets, is used by the Ikongo. They do not manufacture these articles, but buy them from the Bara, who are clever brass casters. The metal itself is of European origin and most of the knife hilts are made from old cartridge shells melted down.

135 326 438 The most important iron deposits are in the territory of the Tanala Ikongo. There are also deposits in the territory of the Zafimaniry, among the Menabe. There are a great number of smiths in this gens and they formerly carried on a regular trade in metal and finished implements with their neighbors. No account of Ikongo iron working was obtained, but their methods probably are the same as those of the Zafimaniry.

325 The ore used by the Zafimaniry is hematite, with a rich iron content. It occurs in the soil in the form of small pebbles and is simply washed preparatory to smelting. If the pieces are more than ¾ inch in diameter, they are broken up with hammers. The furnace is of the simplest sort (Fig. 10, c). A hole 2 to 2½ feet across and 18 inches to 2 feet deep is dug in the hard clay soil, with a sloping groove or trench entering it from one side, to accommodate a pipe leading to a bellows. The air pipe enters the pit 3 to 4 inches above the bottom. Sometimes a rim of clay 3 to 4 inches high is built around the furnace.

The smelting is done with charcoal, made by the ordinary European method. A layer of ignited charcoal is put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of ore, then more charcoal and more ore until the furnace is filled. Two men work the bellows in shifts, keeping up a steady draft, and more charcoal is added as the mass burns down. The smelting requires about five hours. The molten iron collects in the bottom of the pit forming an ingot called sorondy. This is drawn out and hammered as soon as it solidifies. Because of the small size of the furnace only a little iron can be smelted at a time. The metal is soft and malleable and the native smiths say that it is much easier to work than European iron.

The bellows employed in smelting and forging is typically Malayan (Fig. 10, a). It consists of two wooden cylinders from

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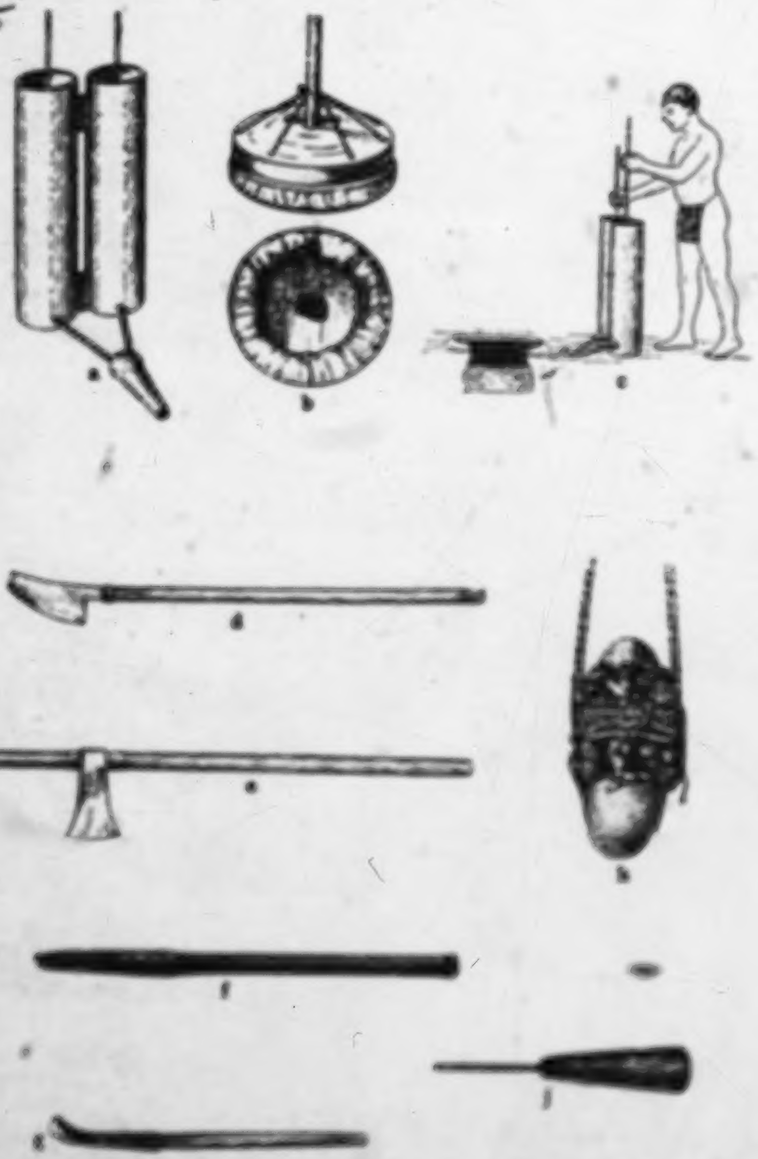

Fig. 13. Iron and Wood Working Tools. a, Piston Bellows; b, Details of Piston Head; c, Furnace for Iron Smelting; d, Axe, Ancient Type; e, Axe, Recently Introduced from Betsileo; f, Chisel; g, Small Gouge; h, Whetstone in Sheath; j, Carver's Gouge.

325 3 to 5 feet long with a bore of about 6 inches. The bore is muc more constant than the length and rarely varies more than an incl In each cylinder there is a piston with a long handle of light woo or bamboo and a round, flat wooden head only slightly smaller tha the bore. A ring of cloth about an inch thick is loosely attache to the lower side of the head by means of cords passed through hole drilled around its rim (Fig. 10, b). On the up stroke the cloth rin falls away from the head, allowing the air to enter. On the dow stroke the friction of the cylinder wall forces the ring upward agains the head, closing the apertures and compressing the air below. I the side of each cylinder, at the bottom, there is a hole about an incl in diameter. A bamboo pipe 2 to 3 feet long is fitted into this an the joint sealed with cow dung. The two cylinders are cleate together in such a way that the bamboo pipes converge, forming a V The apex of the V is inserted in a short conical tube of burned cla or soapstone, which conducts the air into the fire. The operato works the two pistons alternately, keeping up a steady draught.

325 412 All iron implements are forged, casting being unknown. Th metal from broken and worn-out tools is welded into bars and the worked up into new implements. The smiths' tools consist of tw or three hammers of different sizes, an anvil, chisels, files, wooder tongs and a roughly hollowed trough of wood or stone to hold th water for tempering. The hammers are of iron with wooden handle and are shaped much like the European ones. One side of the head usually tapers to a sharp edge, used for cutting the hot metal. Th anvil is also of iron, with a flat top not more than 3 inches squar and a long wedge-shaped or pointed bottom. The lower part is sunk in the ground *or driven into a log* and the smith always squats at hi work. The chisels are shaped like European cold chisels. All the files seen were of European manufacture and I suspect that this too is an innovation. Perhaps pieces of rough sandstone were originally used. Tongs are made from sticks of green wood 1½ to 2 inches in diameter and 3 to 5 feet long. The end of the stick is split back for 18 inches to 2 feet and it is then wrapped with withes or vine immediately above the split. Sometimes a loop of tough, green vine is used instead. This is slipped over the iron and the ends twisted about each other.

325 Tanala iron work is comparatively poor. Even their best implements are roughly finished. Their axes and knives are poorly tempered and require constant sharpening. Iron meat hooks and toasting forks are sometimes decorated by twisting the handles while

the metal is hot. Some knife and meat hook handles terminate in 325
spiral antenuae (Figs. 1, f; 5, g). Iron is never inlaid with other [531]
metals.

There are very few Tanala silversmiths, most of their ornaments 326
being bought from the Betsileo. The ornaments are usually made 177
from French five franc pieces and, at the time of my visit, the government had prohibited silver working as part of a campaign to introduce paper money. Because of this, the silversmiths carried on their work surreptitiously and I could learn nothing of their methods.

WOOD WORKING

With the exception of the Zafimaniry gens, the Tanala are rather 322
inferior wood workers. Their tools consist of the axe, chisel, knife, 412
plane, drill, and two types of gouge. Adzes are unknown and saws were unknown until introduced by Europeans. They are still rarely used.

The axe (*antsi*) is used both as a tool and as a weapon. All native men carry one when traveling. The blade is shaped like that of an American cleaver, flat, with a square end and a straight or slightly curved cutting edge 4 to 6 inches long (Fig. 10, d). It has a straight, horizontal tang about 3 inches long which is inserted in a straight wooden handle 18 inches to 2 feet long and about 1 inch in diameter. In mounting the blade the tang is heated red hot and used to burn a hole of the proper size in the end of the handle. When this is deep enough the tang is fixed in it with a strong vegetable cement, made from a berry. The handle is then reinforced about the tang with a metal ferrule or a band of rawhide taken from a cow's tail and slipped on wet.

Chisels are of solid iron and are shaped much like our own cold chisels. They are used for fine work in hollowing wooden utensils and in dressing joints in timbers (Fig. 10, f).

Planes are shaped much like the small planes used by our own carpenters (Fig. 11, f). The plane-iron tapers to a point, which is usually recurved. It is held in place by a wooden wedge. The Zafimaniry often use plane-irons with a fluted edge (Fig. 11, e), producing a corrugated surface. Planes are used for dressing house timbers and the outside of large wooden utensils, especially boxes.

Drills are identical with those already described under Fire Making except that they are fitted with chisel-shaped iron bits. They are rarely used in wood working, small perforations usually being made with a hot iron.

322 412 Large, heavy gouges are used for hollowing out large boxes and canoes. The blade is provided with a socket by which it is fitted on the end of a heavy, straight wooden handle, like a spade handle. This gouge is swung with both hands, like the native spade. The head of the gouge is usually carried in a rawhide sheath (Fig. 11, c). Small gouges with curved blades are used for hollowing out spoons and other small utensils (Fig. 10, g). They are sometimes provided with a long handle which is gripped in the arm pit so that the blade is held rigid while the utensil is pressed and turned against it.

All wood working tools are sharpened with whetstones, which are carried on the belt in a hide sheath (Fig. 10, h).

313 The greater part of the Tanala territory is heavily forested, but because of their wasteful agricultural methods large timber is becoming scarce. It is often necessary to go several hours' march from a village to find trees suitable for making large utensils, canoes, and house timbers. In such cases the workmen build rude shelters at the place and live there until the work is finished.

It is considered wise to begin the felling of large trees on an auspicious day. It is not obligatory, but if this is neglected there [782] may be accidents. If the trees selected are in a *ristana* ("place inhabited by spirits") the workmen make a small sacrifice before the felling begins and warn the spirits to go away so that they will not be injured. The trees are felled with axes, never with fire, and are cut off 2 to 3 feet above the ground. The Tanala apparently make no use of wedges or other appliances for splitting the wood. Timbers, utensils, etc., are hewn out bodily and brought to nearly their final form on the spot, to save labor in transport. They are then carried to the village to be finished at leisure. The Tanala never work with seasoned wood if green wood is obtainable.

322 After objects have been roughed out with the axe and heavy gouge they are dressed with planes and knives. If a very smooth surface is desired, the object is gone over with a heavy iron rasp of European manufacture, and the surface then rubbed down with a slightly rough stone or with damp sand on a piece of hide. Final smoothing is done with leaves. Wooden utensils are never polished intentionally, although they may become glossy through use.

322 531 The Zafimaniry do a good deal of wood carving. Their carving tools are knives and small chisels and gouges (Fig. 10, j), used without mallets. There is no carving in the round. The designs are incised after the surface has been rubbed smooth. Oval wooden boxes, beds and the timbers and doors of houses are the objects most

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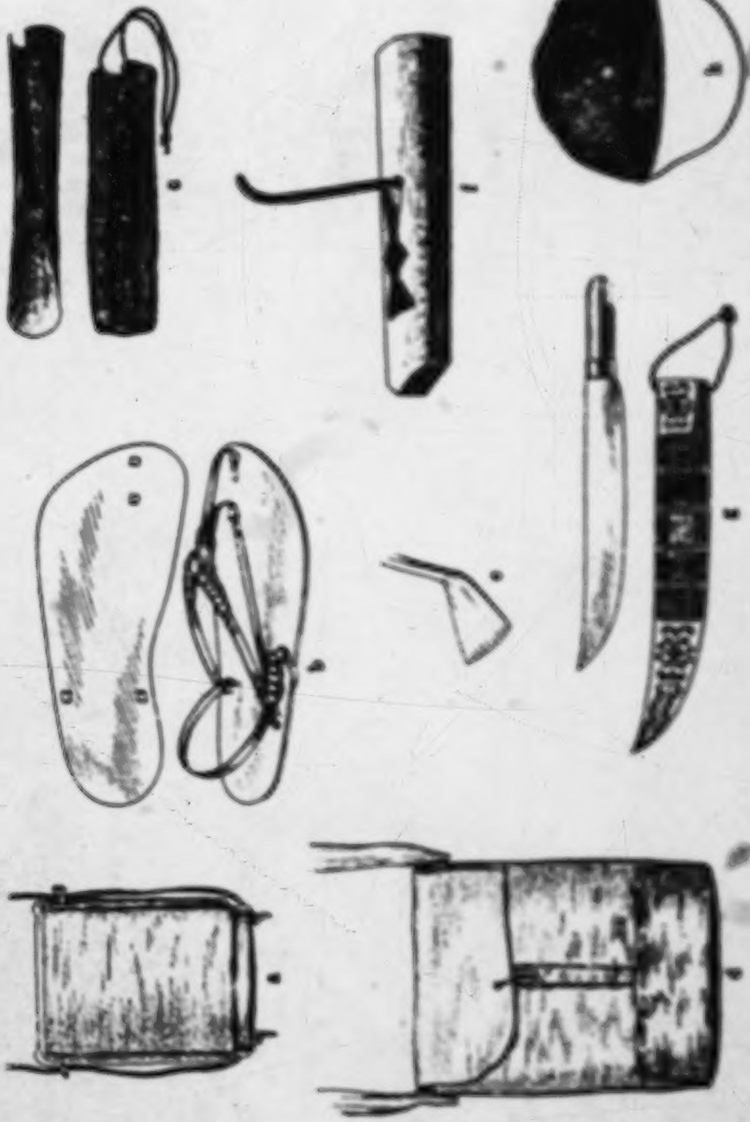

FIG. 11. Tools and Work in Hide. a, d, Hide Boxes; b, Sandals; c, Heavy Gouge with Sheath; e, Plane-iron; f, Plane; g, Knife and Sheath; h, Hide Cap.

322 531 commonly decorated. The house carvings are made after the house has been erected and the owner will work on them intermittently for years.

The other Tanala gentes carve very little. Some of the Menabe blacken the edges of wooden bowls and sections on the handles of wooden ladles by charring them with a hot iron and rubbing the surface smooth. Simple designs are then cut through the black layer into the underlying white wood (Fig. 7, d). Such decorations are very striking when the utensil is new, but soon disappear with use. A similar technique is used by the tribes of the southeast coast and those of the extreme south, and is also common in Africa. It seems to be a recent introduction among the Tanala.

The handles of wooden spoons are given ornamental shapes and are sometimes decorated with series of small incised circles. This form of decoration is much commoner on horn and bone and the method of making the circles is described in that section.

WORK IN HORN, BONE AND HIDE

321 415 Animal products are of little importance in Tanala industry. All the horn, bone and hide used is obtained from cattle. Cow horns are occasionally used as containers for fire making sets (Fig. 5, e) and charms (Fig. 23, e). There are also a few horn snuff bottles (Fig. 9, j) and small horn boxes, used as snuff boxes or purses (Fig. 9, f). Only the Zafimaniry use horns as drinking and libation cups (Fig. 9, a, b). In all except the charms and drinking cups, the large end of the horn is closed by a carefully fitted wooden stopper, smoothly rounded on the outside. This stopper is held in place by small pins of horn or bone, cut off flush with the outer surface. Similar pins are sometimes used to fasten the bottoms of small wooden boxes.

321 None of my informants knew of any method for softening horn so that it could be twisted and spread, but the small horn boxes could not have been made in any other way. Probably the material was scraped thin and then softened by boiling. Ordinarily the horn is cut into shape with knives, scraped to remove the loose fibrous surface, and then rubbed smooth with some abrasive. Lastly, it is oiled and polished. The final polishing is done with leaves which contain crystals of silica. Horn objects are nearly always well made and often show a fine, glossy finish.

Bone is used even less than horn. Snuff bottles are sometimes made from sections of long bones with wooden stoppers fixed in the

ends (Fig. 9, k). Bodkin-like bone points are used as head scratchers 321
and also to disentangle the warp in weaving (Fig. 14, g). Women
often carry them thrust into their hair, but they are not ornaments [413]
and are rarely decorated. Other long bone points are occasionally
used as meat forks. The jawbones of oxen are often used in mat
making, to smooth and polish the fabric (Fig. 12, g).

Bone is shaped with knives while still fresh and polished like horn.
Both horn and bone objects are sometimes decorated with series of [531]
small incised circles, each circle having a dot in the center. These [413]
are made with a slender, forked, iron drill which is shaped like a heavy
needle with the tip of the eye broken off. The drill is set in a wooden
shaft about a foot long. The shaft is twirled between the palms.
One point of the drill makes the central dot, while the other revolves
about it and incises the circle. When on bone, the circles are usually
rubbed with soot, to heighten the effect.

Hide is used for sandals, thongs, a few pouches and knife sheaths, 281
and for skull caps. Of these, only the sandals are common. There is
no tanning of any sort. The hide is roughly fleshed with a small
knife, but the hair is usually left on. Sandal soles are cut from dry [291]
rawhide, the flesh side being worn next the foot. Thongs for attachment
pass through holes in the edges of the sole and are knotted
beneath (Fig. 11, b). Caps are made from the skin of an ox hump,
dried over a form (Fig. 11, h). Pouches are usually rectangular,
like boxes. They are made by drawing the fresh hide over a block
of wood, folding it, and sewing the ends together. When it has dried,
the block is removed but the stiffness of the hide keeps it in shape
(Fig. 11, a, d). Knife sheaths are made in the same way.

The Zafimaniry occasionally tooled their knife sheaths and small 281
pouches. The hide was first dried, then soaked in water until the 531
hair could be rubbed off with the fingers. It was then bent over a
wooden form, flesh side in, and sewed. Lastly, designs were pressed
into the surface with a blunt point of hard wood or bone. A pouch
and sheath decorated in this way are illustrated (Figs. 5, a; 11, g).
The sheath may be of Betsileo manufacture. This type of decoration
is now obsolete.

MATTING AND BASKETRY 285

Mats and baskets are the commonest of all Tanala manufactures. 462
Every woman is expected to make those used by her own household.
A bride spends the month before her marriage in making a supply,
including one especially fine mat which she presents to her parents-

285 in-law on arrival at her new home. Later, she constantly makes more
462 as the old ones wear out and usually keeps an unfinished mat or
basket to work on in her spare time, as our own housewives keep
fancywork.

285 Only two techniques are employed in mat making, checkerwork
and twilled work. The former is practically limited to the large,
rigid mats of split and flattened bamboo which are used for house
[462] walls and floors. These are made exclusively by men. Large green
bamboos are split lengthwise and flattened out by pounding them
with a mallet. The strips, which are from 3 to 4 inches wide, are
then interwoven and the ends trimmed off. Only one flexible mat
woven in checkerwork was seen, a small square used as a dust
pan (Fig. 18, c).

All ordinary mats (*ahy*) are twilled, the usual weave being over two and under two, although the number is varied for decorative effect. The twilled mats may be divided into two types, hard and soft. The hard mats are used for lining the walls of houses in the cold season (*fandambanana*), as floor coverings, sleeping mats, and, in many gentes, for serving cooked rice. The soft mats are used mainly for clothing.

The hard mats are made from several species of rushes, two varieties of fan palm, and, where it is available, pandanus. The rushes and pandanus are harvested just as the leaves begin to turn yellow. For palm mats the young, unopened leaves are taken. In both cases the material is cut into long strips, the midrib or other heavy portions removed, and the strips dried in the sun. When nearly dry, the strips are drawn between the thumb and the edge of a sliver of bamboo, to make them softer and more pliable. The thumb is protected by a cloth guard. The material is then done up in bundles and stored in the house until needed. In mat weaving, the worker sits on the ground with the work in front of her on another mat. No lapboard is used. In a few very fine mats the strips are probably moistened before weaving, but I never saw this done. From time to time the work is smoothed and flattened with a polisher. These polishers are usually made from the central portion of the lower jaw of an ox, but large shells of the cowrie variety and smooth river pebbles are also used. Bone polishers are sometimes decorated with incised circles (Fig. 12, g).

The Tanala hard mats are strong and well made but are, as a rule, of coarser weave than similar mats from the plateau. Those of pandanus are considered the most serviceable, with those of rushes

next. Mats of palm leaves are the handsomest, as they are almost 285
white with a glossy surface, but they do not wear well. Floor mats, etc., are always woven as a whole, not made from pieces sewn together, as among some other Madagascar tribes.

At least 80 per cent of the hard mats are undecorated. The 295
commonest decoration consists of a line of broader twilling running 681
around the mat 2 to 4 inches from its edges and parallel with them. When there is further decoration, the space inside this border is divided into a series of squares which are separated by bands of wide twilling. The twilling within each square differs from that of the adjoining squares, the various types of twilling being arranged symmetrically (Fig. 12, d). The designs are not named and have no special significance. They are of the simplest geometric type and there are no attempts to reproduce natural forms. At the present time a few colored mats are made, but these are a recent development and the dyes are always anilines. In many cases the colored patterns are nothing more than diagonal stripes which intersect at various points, the woven designs running across them unbroken.

Soft mats are made principally by the southern Tanala, who 285
employ them as a substitute for cloth. They are identical with those [171]
used by the southeast coast tribes and may have been introduced
from that region. They are woven from various tough sedges, *herefo* [248]
and *herana* being the best. In some localities these are cultivated in flooded beds, like rice. The leaves are very dark green, tubular, like garlic, and grow 18 inches to 2 feet high. They are harvested when the tips begin to turn yellow, rolled in powdered kaolin until thoroughly coated, then spread out on mats in the sun. When nearly dry, they are made up into bundles about 2 inches in diameter and beaten with a cylindrical wooden mallet or rice pestle until they become soft and pliable. They are never split.

The technique of weaving is the same as for the hard mats, except that the soft mats are usually woven in strips not over 18 inches wide. These are later sewn together to form blankets and garments. The best ones are made from small stems and are so closely woven that they resemble coarse canvas. They are rarely decorated. After weaving, the mat is taken to running water, kneaded and worked under water with the feet, to make it more pliable.

All Tanala basketry is of the hand-woven type.[7] Coiled basketry 295
is unknown and its general distribution in Madagascar suggests that 177
it has been introduced from Africa in relatively recent times.

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[7] The classifications used are those of Otis T. Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, Report of U. S. National Museum, 1902.

286 it has been introduced from Africa in relatively recent times. Four types of weaving are employed: twilled work, wicker work, an open weave for which there is no term in English, and twined work. At least 90 per cent of all baskets are twilled over two and under two, the technique being identical with that employed for ordinary mats. The members always run diagonally with respect to both the rectangular bottom and sides. The materials are, as a rule, the same as those used in mat weaving, but large, coarsely woven baskets are often made from split papyrus. There is also a limited use of the [124] inner bark of various trees, called *hafotra*, which is more commonly employed for cloth and cordage. Soft sedges of the sort used for clothing mats are rarely used for basketry, but are employed for certain flat baskets or sacks.

Although twilled-work baskets vary greatly in size and material only a few shapes are in use. The commonest form has a square bottom with sides which are rectangular below, becoming more rounded as they rise until, in the deeper examples, the rim is circular. Stiff, shallow baskets of this type, with sides 2 to 3 inches high, are used as dishes for serving food. Deeper and more flexible ones are used for all ordinary purposes. Small ones of carefully determined content are used as rice measures. These show a regular gradation in size and are the only type of basket for which specialization in manufacture has begun, the rice measures for each village usually being woven by one woman. Square, covered baskets, made by fitting two baskets of equal depth together, are used in dwellings for the storage of clothing, etc. (Fig. 12, f). Deep, oblong baskets are next in frequency of occurrence (Fig. 1, b). They are woven from a rather stiff rush and are used as sowing baskets. They are filled with seed and worn attached to the sower's waist. Covered baskets of the same shape and material, with a broad sling of cloth or matting, are used for carrying clothing and valuables when on journeys (Fig. 12, b). Bottle-shaped baskets are fairly common. There are two types, one with a deep, narrow body, slight shoulder and large neck (Fig. 12, c), the other with a short, wide body, flat shoulder and small neck (Fig. 12, a). Small baskets of the first type are used as containers for salt and larger ones for seed. Those of the second type seem to be primarily seed baskets, used to store maize, rice, etc., until sowing time. One seed basket collected is shaped very much like a sock, with a short lateral sleeve and opening (Fig. 12, h). No others of this type were seen and its shape is probably a result of the maker's fancy. Seed beans are stored in peculiar baskets having

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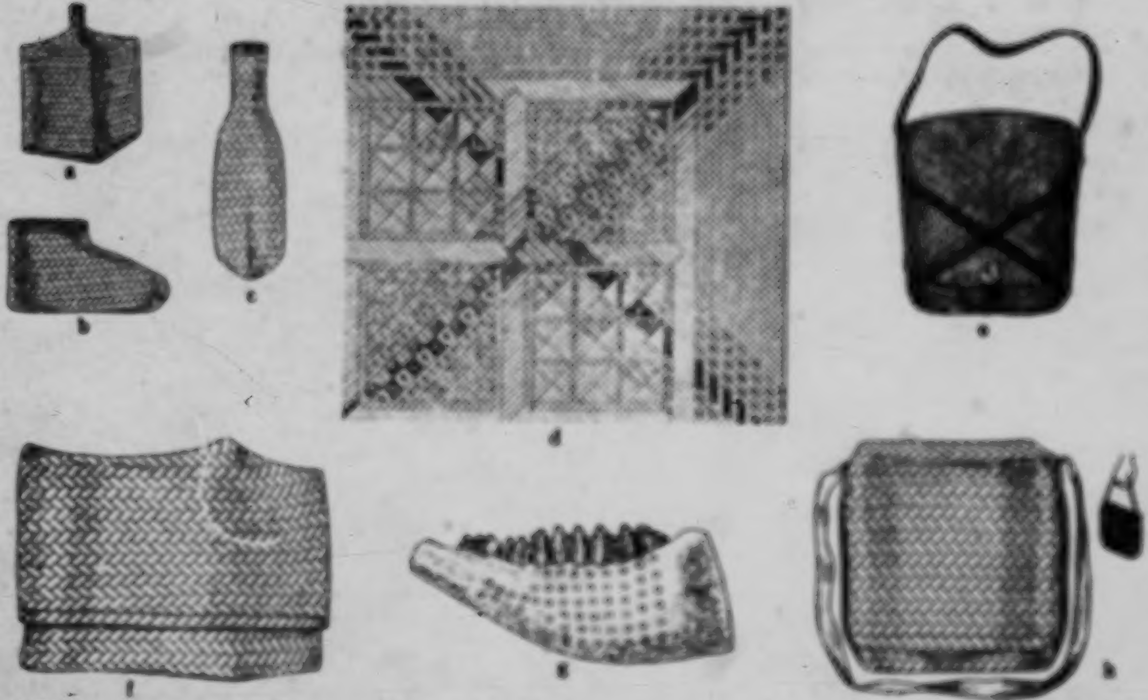

FIG. 12. Mats and Baskets. a, Small-necked Basket; b, Sock-shaped Basket; c, Large-necked Basket; d, Section of Sleeping Mat; e, Pouch Covered with Braid; f, Covered Basket; g, Ox Jaw for Polishing Mats; h, Traveling Basket.

285 from two to four long, narrow, cylindrical tubes which branch out from a flat central portion. When in use they are hung with the flat part above and the tubes pendant. The opening is in the center, on the lower side of the basket as hung (Fig. 1, c/d). This form is said to be an imitation of a cluster of bean pods and may have originally had a magical significance but, if so, this has now been forgotten.

The Tanala also make several types of flat baskets which might better be classed as sacks or pouches. Small pouches, pointed at the bottom, are hung on the walls of dwellings as receptacles for spoons, trinkets, etc. (Fig. 13, a). Their purpose seems to be as much decorative as utilitarian and they are the only Tanala baskets which are woven in colors. Flat, oblong, covered pouches are carried when traveling and serve the purpose of a pocket. These pouches are hung from the shoulder by a string across the chest. One example, made by the Zafimaniry gens, has the outside of the cover and the bottom of the inner pouch covered with sewn braid (Fig. 12, e). The braid is made from *hafotra* in a three-strand plait. No other examples of such work were seen. Deep, flexible sacks woven from sedge or strips of *hafotra* are used for carrying rice and other dry foods when traveling. The open end is usually sewn up except for a slit about an inch long. Similar sacks are sometimes stuffed with grass or leaves and used as pillows.

Small basketry stands are used to elevate the food dishes of the head of the house and of honored guests. The forms vary greatly, for the makers seem to allow their imaginations free reign. The commonest rests are simply rings of stiff matting two or more layers thick. Another form consists of a basket with a base of the same size and depth as the rim, the effect being that of two baskets joined bottom to bottom (Fig. 8, h). Still another form consists of a well-made basket dish with a high, woven base of smaller diameter (Fig. 8, f).

Triangular conical baskets, usually of small size, are used as strainers for purifying salt. This is dissolved, strained through, and then allowed to recrystallize. They were formerly used for leaching wood ashes, the potash being used as a salt substitute (Fig. 6, a).

Collars of matting about a foot wide, like baskets without bottoms, are placed about the mouths of rice mortars to prevent the grain from falling to the ground.

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285 Basketry stools, stuffed with straw, are in common use. They consist of a wide circular band of matting which is drawn inward

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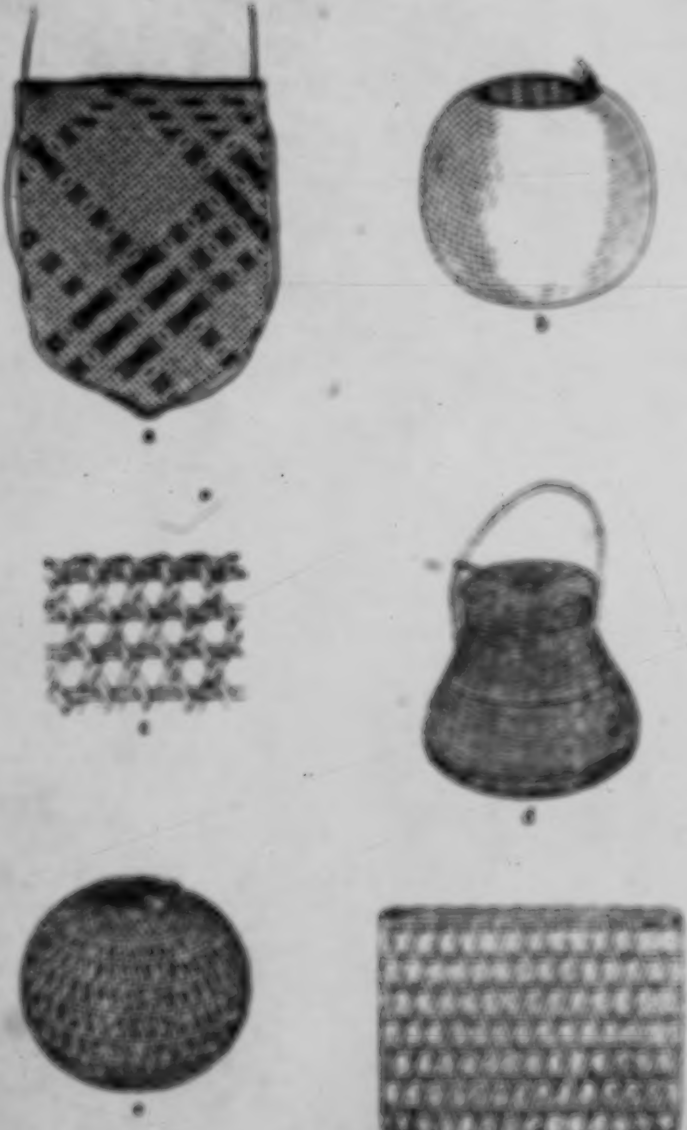

Fig. 15. Baskets. a, [illegible] Basket; b, [illegible]; c, Detail of Open Weave; d, Wicker Work Basket; e, [illegible] with Open Weave; f, Tray or Sieve Basket.

285 along the sides by means of draw strings threaded through the
352 binding. Small separate squares of matting are inserted under the edges of the band, forming the ends of the stool. When first made, these stools are nearly spherical (Fig. 13, b).

[534] Pouches and stools are sometimes decorated with simple woven designs like those used on mats, but the bulk of Tanala basketry is devoid of ornament and rather coarsely woven.

285 Baskets of wicker work and open weave are made exclusively by
[124] men. The material is a tough, flexible vine called vahy. This is split and flattened. Wicker work baskets are extremely rare, only one specimen being collected. This is a small, cylindrical, covered basket identical with those manufactured by some of the southeast coast tribes and was probably made in imitation of these (Fig. 13, d). The members run vertically and horizontally.

[226] Wicker work technique is regularly employed for one type of fish scoop. This has the form of a half cylinder, the rigid vertical elements of the wicker work running crosswise. The flat ends of the scoop are formed by bending the longitudinal splints inward and fastening them together with rough twined work in bark (Fig. 3, b). Wicker work technique is also used for house doors, the material being split bamboo, and for small open frames used for smoking fish.

In the technique which I have called open weave, the foundation consists of two series of parallel, diagonal members intersecting at regular intervals. Horizontal members are woven over and under these immediately above each intersection (Fig. 13, c). The finished fabric has large six-sided meshes. This technique is employed for deep, narrow, oblong baskets, one of which is to be found in nearly every household (Fig. 13, f). It is hung up beside the fireplace and utensils are dropped into it after washing, the open meshes allowing them to drain and dry quickly. Because of their stiffness, such baskets are also used for storing eggs and other breakables. The same technique is used for the close-fitting, semi-rigid network woven about gourds used for storing grease (Fig. 13, e), and in the manufacture of a large heart-shaped type of fish trap (Fig. 3, d).
[171] It seems to be almost universal in Indonesia and may have been brought to Madagascar from that region.

285 Twined work is employed in the manufacture of fish traps, eel
226 cages, fish scoops and hanging platforms, but never for real baskets. The traps are conical or bottle shaped and the cages cylindrical. They are made from closely spaced, lengthwise strips of bamboo, about ½ inch wide. At intervals of 5 to 8 inches these strips are

fastened together by bands of twined work, usually three rows wide. 265
The twining material is unsplit vahy vine. The traps have a conical 226
entrance way, made from pointed slips of bamboo. On one side there is an aperture opened and closed by sliding slips of bamboo into the first row of twining (Fig. 3, e, g).

The fish scoops are conical, 2 to 3 feet across the mouth and 3 to 5 feet long. They are made from long, slender, somewhat flexible [829]
splints taken from the midrib of the raffia palm. At intervals of 3 or 4 inches these are fastened together by single rows of twined raffia fiber running at right angles to their length. The mouth of the scoop is held open by a hoop of roughly plaited vines. When not in use, this hoop is removed and the scoop rolled up laterally (Fig. 3, a).

The hanging platforms are made with the same materials and 285
technique as the scoops just described. They are rectangular, rein- 417
forced with splints of bamboo at the edge, and are used in household sacrifices and for smoking fish (Fig. 3, c).

The Tanala also make a few trays or baskets from sections of 285
large pandanus leaves. The heavy midrib is pared thin and the ends and sides of the section bent upward. The ends are then folded and sewn together (Fig. 4, g). Small baskets of this type are sometimes made of the sheaths of the giant bamboo, which are similarly folded and sewn.

There seems to be little or no use of bark containers. Fish traps are sometimes made from rolls of bark held in position by bands of twisted vine (Fig. 3, f).

MANUFACTURE OF BARK CLOTH

The Tanala Menabe claim that in the earliest times their clothing 287
was made exclusively of beaten bark, called *fanto*. They have now learned how to weave and with this and the introduction of European cloth *fanto* has become obsolete. I never saw it in use, but specimens were made for me by a few of the older men, who still remember the process.

Fanto is made from the bark of the voara tree. When a wide [829]
piece is desired, trees up to a foot in diameter are used. The hard outer bark is scraped away on the tree until the soft inner bark is exposed. This is then detached by ringing the tree above and below and making a single vertical cut. The bark is laid in the sun until nearly dry, then beaten. The beater (*ofisiana*) is shaped like a European mallet, with a head of hard wood and an inserted handle

287 of softer wood (Fig. 14, a). Both sides of the head are covered with cross-hatching. The anvil is a rectangular piece of wood about 8 inches wide, 6 inches thick, and 16 to 18 inches long, with a smooth, flat top.

After the first beating, the bark is laid on the earth in a damp, shady place and left for three or four days. It absorbs moisture and when it has become damp and flexible it is beaten a second time. The material is then ready for use. It is not washed at any stage of the manufacture. The beating expands the bark to, at most, three times its original width. In making smocks, blankets, etc., these strips are sewn together with fiber thread.

The finished bark cloth is reddish brown in color, fading to a pinkish tan on exposure to the sun. It is rather stiff and thicker than any Oceanic bark cloth. It plainly shows the marks of the beater (Fig. 14, b). Apparently it is never painted or otherwise decorated.

MANUFACTURE OF CLOTH

286-
173 According to their own traditions the Tanala were originally ignorant of weaving. The Ikongo and other southern Tanala dressed in mats, like the southeast coast tribes, and still do so except where they have obtained cloth through trade. The Menabe dressed in bark cloth, but adopted weaving shortly before the beginning of the historic period and now dress entirely in cloth. The art entered the Menabe territory from two directions. Raffia weaving was learned from the neighboring Betsimisaraka tribe and gradually spread to all the gentes. *Hajotra* weaving, on the other hand, was brought into the area by the Zafimaniry when they fled from the plateau. It has spread little, if at all, among the other gentes, although the neighbors of the Zafimaniry purchase and use the finished product.

286 The preparation of raffia has been described under Forest Products. When it is to be manufactured into cloth, it is first shredded into thin filaments. This is done by tying one end of a hank to a post and combing it with an iron comb. These combs usually have four sets of teeth, used for shredding to different sizes (Fig. 14, d). After shredding the filaments are tied end to end to form a continuous thread, the ends of the knots being cut as short as possible with a small iron knife. The tying is done on a frame, two types being used. One of these consists of a raffia midrib through one end of which a stick is thrust at right angles while a second stick is driven into the upper surface near the other end. The whole form is reminiscent of a cross-bow (Fig. 14, e). The thread is passed over one

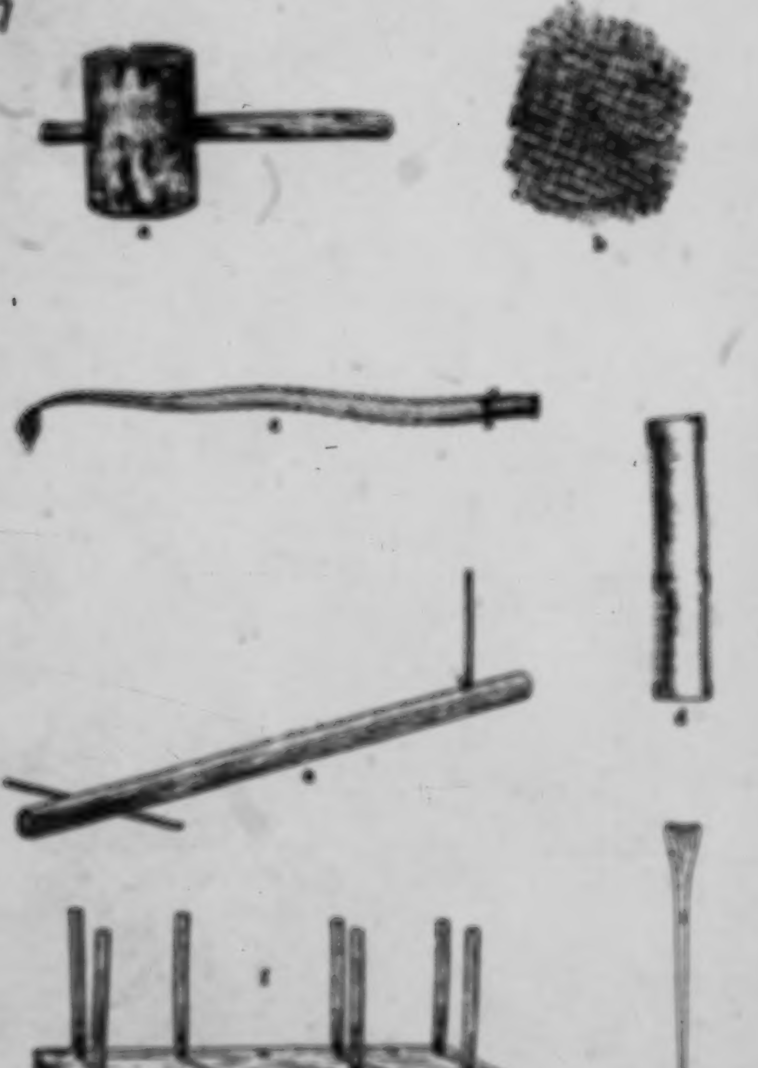

FIG. 14. Bark Cloth and Raffia Weaving. a, Bark Cloth Beater; b, Texture of Bark Cloth; c, Twist of Raffia; d, Comb for Stretching Raffia; e, f, Frames for Laying Raffia Chain for Weaving; g, Bone Bodkin.

286 arm, around the vertical stick, over the other arm, and back, new lengths being knotted on as needed. The other frame consists of a plank with two rows of holes into which pegs about 8 inches long are fitted. The arrangement of the pegs can be changed to give hanks of different lengths (Fig. 14, f). When enough of the filaments have been knotted on, the hank is removed and laid aside to be dyed. The plateau method of boiling raffia with lye and then twisting it into thread seems to be unknown.

286 [177] 824 At the present time European aniline dyes have almost supplanted the original vegetable colors in raffia weaving and only a few of the older women know the native processes. Black is made by crushing the leaves of the *laloza*, boiling them and adding ferruginous earth. When the mixture is cold the raffia is put in and soaked for a day. This gives a fine and very fast color which continues in regular use in spite of the imported dyes. Yellow is made with turmeric. The root is pounded in a mortar, mixed with cold water, and the raffia steeped in it for half a day to a day, according to the depth of color desired. It is then washed in running water and dried. This dye is still occasionally used. A good orange dye was formerly made from the roots of the *sasoavira*, a bush or small tree. The bark from the roots was pounded to powder in a mortar and boiled for an hour with the raffia, which was then washed. This dye was never used with *hafotra*, but simply because the plant grows in the territory of the raffia weaving groups and sparsely if at all in that of the Zafimaniry. Red was made by boiling the raffia with the bark of the *nato* tree, and a pale grayish blue was made with indigo. The *sasoavira*, *nato*, and indigo dyes are rarely used today. All dyeing is done before the fabric is woven.

286 531 The Tanala make a very limited use of differential warp dyeing. After the chain is ready for the loom groups of threads are drawn together and tightly wrapped with raffia. The chain is then dyed, the exposed portions taking the color while the others remain uncolored. Stripes with alternate plain and colored sections are made in this way, but there are no real designs and dyeing with several colors is unknown. The technique is rarely used and only one example was collected. Threads of mixed color are made by twisting together two filaments dyed in different colors, as black and yellow.

286 The loom (*tenona*) used in raffia weaving is identical with the oldest Betsimisaraka type (Fig. 15, a). The modern Betsimisaraka type, with treadles, is unknown. The warp is laid on the loom continuously, passing round and round both beams. Tension is secured

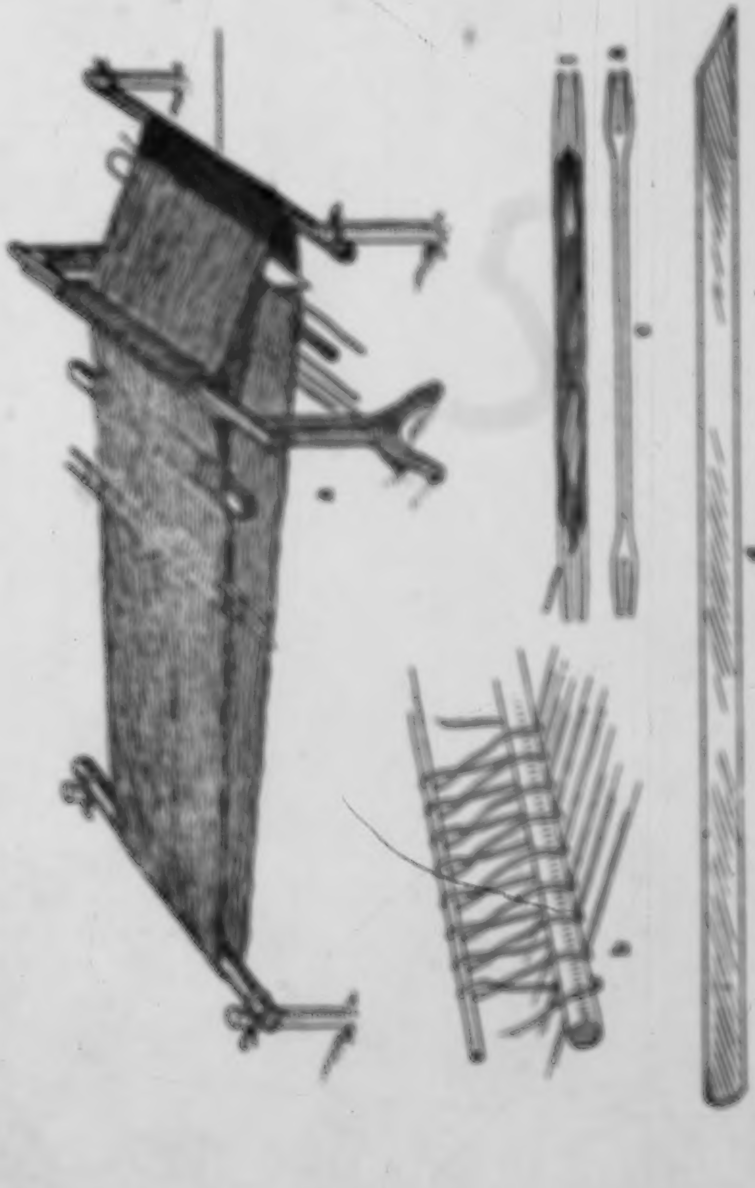

FIG. 12. Raffia Weaving. a, Loom for Raffia Weaving; b, Detail of Loom; c, Shuttles; d, Weaving Board.

286 by tying the beams at their ends to four low posts set in the ground. Beams and heddle rod are round and the heddle rod is relatively heavy. The leash, made from untwisted raffia, is continuous. It is wound around the heddle rod and a second much smaller rod which rests on the top of the heddle rod, in a series of figure eights (Fig. 15, b). The shed stick is oblong in section and about twice as wide as it is thick. Lase rods, made from two strips of bamboo fastened at the ends with a single turn of raffia fiber, are inserted about 18 inches beyond the shed stick, being moved along as the work progresses. The shuttle is very long, in some cases almost the width of the loom, and has forked ends (Fig. 15, c). It is usually of wood, but sometimes of bamboo. The weft thread is wound on it spirally, making either one or two complete turns between the ends. The sword is a long, straight-edged piece of wood pointed at one end and straight at the other (Fig. 15, d). The weaver squats behind the breast beam. Either three or four lase rods are first inserted and pushed close together, to give resistance to the sword. The heddle rod is then raised to form the shed. When in this position its ends are supported on short rests, usually made from stalks of manioc with a few root stubs left attached. When the shuttle has been thrown and the thread beaten in, the heddle rod is slipped off the rests, and the shed stick is turned to form the counter shed. A small, pointed piece of bone or wood is drawn rapidly back and forth across the warp to separate odd and even threads (Fig. 14, g). Both shuttle and sword are inserted from the right side. When a section of cloth has been woven, it is wound backward over the breast beam, gradually passing along the bottom of the loom and up over the warp beam. The lase rods inserted to give resistance are left in place until the cloth is finished. When all but a few inches of the warp has been woven, the remaining portion is cut across and the cloth removed.

284 Nearly all Tanala raffia cloths are decorated with simple stripes
53] made by introducing bands of different-colored thread into the warp. The weft is of uniform color and usually undyed. Checked patterns are produced by having bands of the same colors in both the warp and weft. They are rather rare and do not appear to be ancient. At the present time the most prized cloths are made with a warp of dyed raffia, usually black with colored stripes, and a weft of commercial cotton thread. A few bands of the same thread are often introduced into the warp to give clear white stripes. The stripes are commonly arranged in such a way as to give a border along

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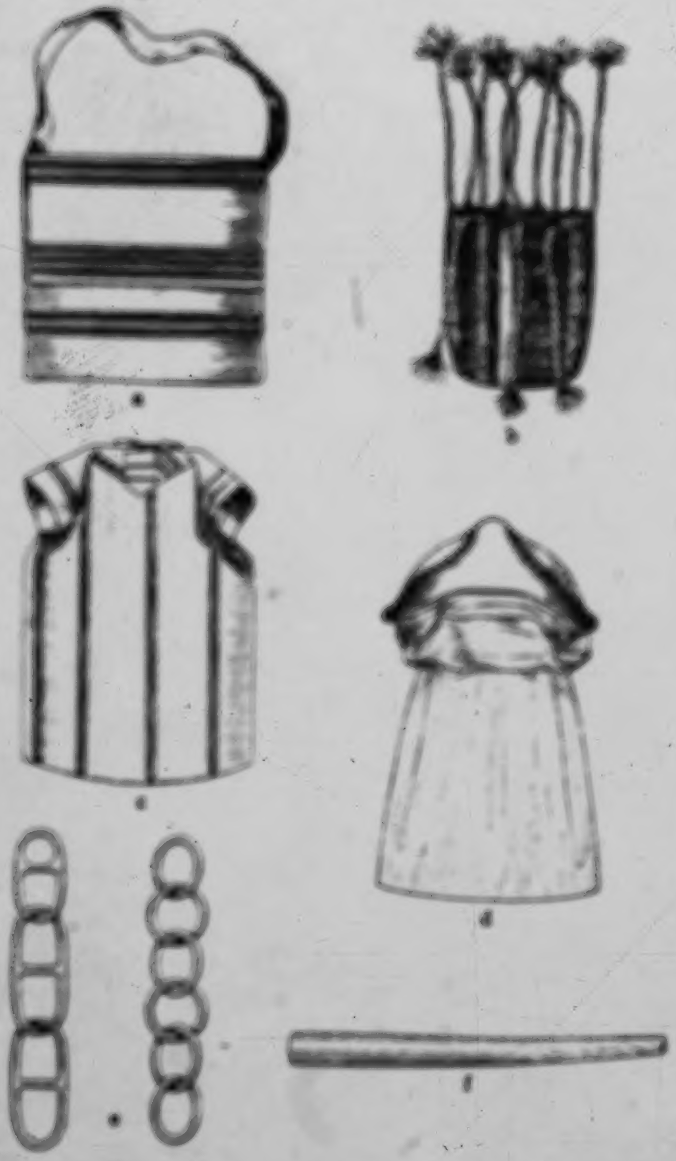

Fig. 12. Raffia Cloth, etc. a, b, Raffia Cloth Bags; c, Man's Smock, Raffia Cloth; d, Woman's Dress, Raffia Cloth; e, Wooden Chains for [illegible] [illegible]; f, Raphia Cloth Beater.

286 531 one edge of the fabric. When the cloth is to be made into a woman's dress, the long strip which has come from the loom is cut in two and the ends of each half sewn together. The plain edges of the two sections are then sewn and the border appears at the top and bottom of the simple tubular garment.

283 [529] *Hafotra* is a bast obtained from three different species of trees. All the Madagascar tribes use it for cordage, but its use for cloth is now limited to the Tanala and some of the neighboring Betsileo. The Imerina and Bara also made *hafotra* cloth in early times. The best *hafotra* is obtained from the *hafotra potsy*, inferior grades from the *hafotra beoka* and *hafotra ambany akondro*. *Hafotra potsy* is cream colored when prepared, the other varieties light gray. Trees 2 to 3 inches in diameter are cut into 4-foot lengths and the hard outer bark scraped away. The inner bark is then split lengthwise [462] and taken off in a single sheet. This is done by men. The sheets of bark are taken to the village, where the women split them into ribbons about ½ inch wide. The bark is then boiled with water and wood ashes for about two hours and the mixture left standing for a day. It is then washed in running water and, while still wet, is picked into fibers suitable for thread. After this it is washed again, being kneaded on stones with the feet. It is wrung out and dried for a day in the house, never in the sun. A bundle of the still damp fiber is then hung on a hook or threaded through the links of a wooden chain (Fig. 16, *e*). The operator seats herself on the ground or on a low stool and bares her right thigh. The bundle of fiber is hung beside her, at about the level of her head. She draws down the fibers one by one and rolls them between the palm and the thigh, knotting on new fibers as needed. The finished thread is wrapped around two sticks set in the ground about 2 feet apart. When enough has been rolled to make a hank, it is removed from the sticks and laid aside to be dyed.

386 Even at the present time, only vegetable dyes are used for *hafotra*. The favorite color is blue, *engitra*, which is made as follows: Indigo is pounded to powder in a mortar and dried. Banana stalks and a plant called *ambiaty* are also pounded and dried, then mixed with dried grass of the variety called *tsipoatina* and the whole burned to ashes. The ash and powdered indigo are thoroughly mixed in hot but not boiling water. The yarn is put in and left over night, while the mixture cools. It is taken out, wrung dry, then put in again and left for a day. After this it is washed in running water and dried in the house, never in the sun. The same solution is used

[illegible]

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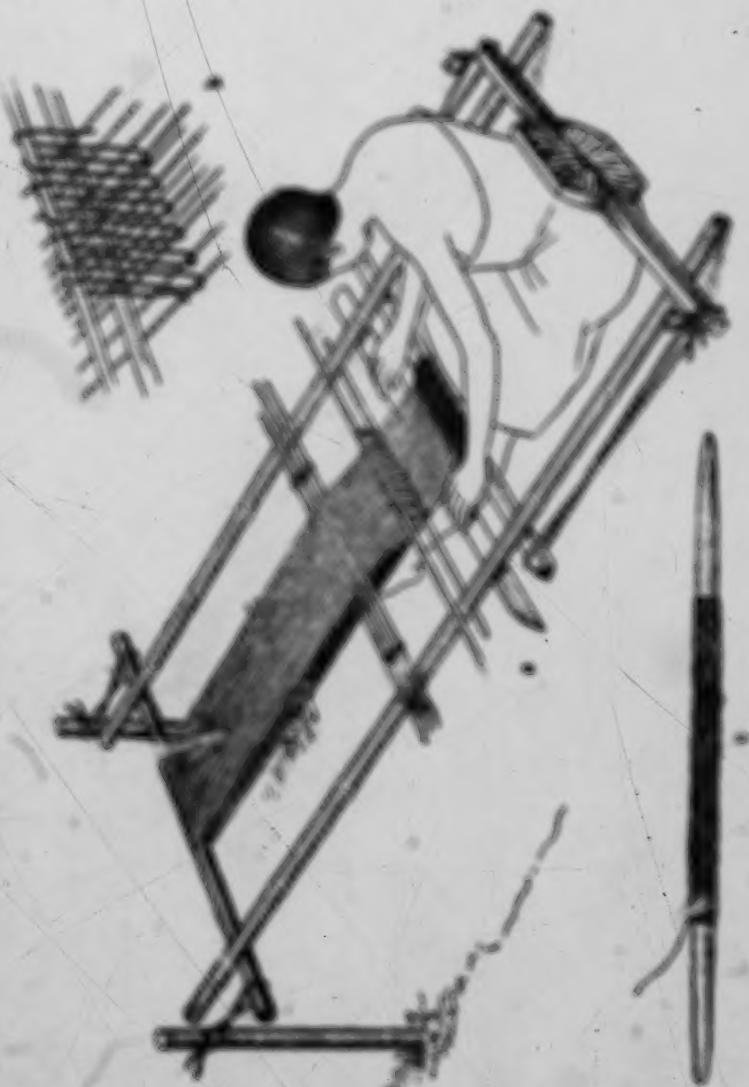

Fig. [illegible]. Loom for [illegible] Weaving. a, Loom; b, Detail of heddle; c, Shuttle.

386 for several successive dyeings, each of which gives a lighter color. The first dyeing gives a good medium blue called *lohany* ("head"). The second gives a lighter grayish blue called *vozony* ("neck"). The third gives a greenish gray called *lavingy* ("back") and the fourth a still paler greenish gray called *forindana* ("tail"). The *lohany* shade is the most prized.

[324] A brownish red called *vony* (lit. "yellow") and a dull brownish purple (*soa*) are made with the bark of the *nato* tree. The bark is cut into small pieces and boiled with the yarn for one to two hours each morning and evening, the mixture being kept warm between boilings. Water is added from time to time. This is kept up until the right depth of color is obtained, which takes two to three days for the *vony* and four or more for the *soa*. The yarn is then washed in running water and dried. Yellow is made from turmeric, the process being the same as for raffia, and black from a mixture of tannin and ferruginous earth. The tannin is obtained from several plants, including the young leaves of the eucalyptus. Differential warp dyeing and the use of threads of mixed color are unknown.

286 The loom used for *hafotra* weaving (Fig. 17, a) differs in some respects from that used for raffia. It is identical with the ancient Betsileo loom, which has recently been replaced in that tribe by looms of Imerina type. The warp is continuous, as in the raffia loom, but the beams are semicircular in section and are grooved at the ends to receive the tension ropes. They are usually made from the midribs of raffia palm leaves. The warp beam is tied to two low posts at a height of about 2½ feet, but the breast beam is attached by short ropes to the ends of a wooden back rest (*tonda*). Along either side of the loom there is a long bamboo pole one end of which rests on the warp beam and the other on the ground. These poles support the ends of the *tonda*, the lease rods, and the heddle rod. Instead of being horizontal, like the raffia loom, the whole apparatus slants downward toward the weaver.

The heddle rod is much slenderer than that of the raffia loom, about ½ inch in diameter, but is also round. A continuous alternate leash of *hafotra* cord is used (Fig. 17, b). The shed stick is round and about ½ inch in diameter. The lease rods are made of wood and are somewhat heavier than the heddle rod. Three of them are inserted a short distance beyond the shed stick, their ends being tied together with cord. The shuttle is a plain, blunt-pointed stick about ½ inch in diameter and 14 inches long, about which the thread is wrapped spirally (Fig. 17, c).

The weaver sits flat on the ground with her legs extending forward under the loom and maintains the tension by leaning against the back rest. The position is tiring and the Betsileo give this as the principal reason for their abandonment of this type of loom. The weaver first inserts two lease rods, made from very thin splints of bamboo, then, when two or three threads have been woven and loosely beaten in, a strip of bamboo about an inch wide is passed through the warp and used as a base for beating in the rest of the weft. Each time the counter shed is to be formed, the heddle rod is slipped off the bamboo poles, the weaver releasing the tension by leaning forward. 286

When the cloth is nearly finished, narrow bands of very simple design are sometimes woven across the strip to serve as borders for the completed garment. In making these bands, needles, or simply the fingers, are employed, never the shuttle. The weft threads are carried across in pairs, passing over and under different numbers of warp threads. Twining is sometimes used in addition to true weaving. After the border has been made, the ordinary weaving is continued for an inch or more. The remaining warp is then cut and the cloth removed. The edges are turned in and sewed, to prevent raveling.

Newly woven *hafotra* cloth is stiff and harsh to the touch, and the colors appear dull. Before wearing, it is taken to a stream and beaten on a smooth stone with a cylindrical wooden club (Fig. 16, *f*). During the beating the cloth must be kept very wet and, if the water is too cold, the threads will not felt properly and may break, making holes in the fabric. Cloth that has been properly beaten has a smooth, glossy surface and bright colors. It is cold and somewhat slippery to the touch, like linen. The beating is always done by women. [462]

Hafotra cloth is principally used for *lambas* ("mantles") but loin cloths were formerly made from it and a few belts are still manufactured. *Lambas* are made from two strips of cloth sewn side by side. At least 90 per cent of these show the same general pattern. The ground color, called adiro, is made from one of the shades of indigo. On this are arranged narrow stripes of red, purple, yellow, natural color and, if the ground shade is light, dark blue. A stripe of natural color is called *fomotsy*, and a line of it *fomotsy kely*. The other stripes go by their ordinary color names. Stripes of mixed color, always along one edge, are made by introducing alternate light and dark warp threads. In *lambas* of this pattern 286 291

286 291 the weft is always dyed red. The only variations from the pattern which were seen were several specimens made entirely of undyed *hafotra* and a single specimen which had four widely spaced stripes of combined blue and yellow on a ground of natural color.

531 286 The Tanala, like most of the Madagascar tribes, display extraordinarily good taste in the combination of colors. Even when glaring aniline dyes are used their compositions are almost always pleasing. The outstanding feature of their textile design is the use of narrow lines at the edges or in the body of their stripes. If the stripe and ground are both fairly light in color, the stripe will be edged with a black or very dark line. A wide dark stripe will have a few lines of light color incorporated. These lines are invisible at a little distance but give emphasis to the whole. Delicate shadings are also produced by lines of graded color. In one specimen a stripe is composed of three yellow threads in the center with two black threads, two dark blue, two light blue, two red and two white on either side.

CORDAGE

283 The best native material for cordage is raffia. Long ribbons of this fiber, just as it is stripped from the leaf, are used for all the purposes for which we employ light string. Heavier cord is made from twisted raffia in two strands. The strands are rolled between the palm and the bare thigh, the maker rolling first one strand and then the other and allowing the two to twist about each other. New lengths of fiber are rolled in as needed and the work proceeds with great rapidity. Heavier rope is usually braided from bundles of the untwisted fiber in a three-strand plait. Rope an inch in diameter can be made in this way. It is soft, light and extremely strong, but is rarely used at present because of the commercial value of the raffia.

[829] Inferior rope and cordage are made from the inner bark of various trees, called *hafotra*. The use of this material in weaving has already been described. In rope making the fiber is boiled, shredded and cut into pieces 4 feet long. The rope is braided in three-strand plaits from bundles of these. New pieces are introduced a few at a time, so as to keep the rope of uniform size and strength. *Hafotra* ropes are light and soft, but do not wear well. Small cordage is rarely made from it.

Strips of fresh bark are frequently used in place of string. Permanent lashings are usually made from split vines, while large vines take the place of heavy rope. The latter are considered better than rope for very heavy work, such as the erection of memorial stones. 313

DWELLINGS

In describing Tanala dwellings it is necessary to distinguish sharply between the Zafimaniry and the rest of the tribe. The former still live, for the most part, in strongly built wooden houses identical with those used by the Betsileo in ancient times. They are beginning to adopt mud houses, like those of the modern plateau natives. The other Tanala gentes build their dwellings of bamboo, leaves of the Traveler's Palm, etc., and show no tendency to adopt the mud houses. In this they conform to the culture pattern of the east coast tribes. 342 184

All Tanala houses are grouped in villages. This was originally a defensive measure, but even now, when the danger of attack has ceased, they show no tendency to live in isolated families. 361

Tanala dwellings, aside from those of the Zafimaniry, show only minor differences. In general, those of the northern gentes are rather larger and better built than those of the southern ones. All the houses are rectangular and oblong, with gabled roofs. The average dwelling is about 20 feet long by 10 to 12 feet wide, but the dimensions vary greatly. The interior height is usually 10 to 12 feet at the ridgepole and 5 to 6 feet at the walls. The houses are always oriented with their long axes north and south. 342

The entire house is raised on posts, the floor being 18 inches to 3 feet above ground at the closest point. As houses are often built on steep slopes, the clearance may be as much as 6 feet at the lower end. The space between the posts is often filled in with stones, to prevent enemies from crawling under and spearing the inhabitants through the floor. A rectangular enclosure of planks or bamboo, near the south end, supports a block of earth which rises to the level of the floor and serves as a fireplace.

The framework of the house usually consists of three main timbers, one at either end and one in the center, a ridgepole, corner posts, stringers at the top and bottom of the walls, rafters and door frames. Another type of framework may be seen in the accompanying drawing (Fig. 18, a). Except for the stringers and door frames, the timbers are simply peeled, not dressed. The main vertical timbers are usually planted in the ground.

The floor is made from planks or from a mat of split and flattened bamboos woven in checkerwork (see Matting and Basketry). Beside

342 the fireplace a short section of large bamboo is usually fastened vertically, with its top flush with the floor. This serves as a drain for pouring out dish water and small scraps of food. The walls are made from bamboo mats, rushes, or midribs of Traveler's Palm leaves. The rushes or midribs are skewered side by side on long slivers of bamboo and pressed closely together, so that they are almost airtight. The material is made up in large panels, which are then trimmed to fit the wall. These wall panels are attached to the inside of the timbers, so that the inner walls of the house are smooth and unbroken while the framework is visible on the outside.

The rafters are made from small bamboos, about 2 inches in diameter, which are lashed to the ridgepole and wall plates. They extend out about 2 feet over the walls, forming eaves. The roof is heavily thatched with leaves of the Traveler's Palm. The leaves are folded together along the midrib and laid on horizontally, overlapping like shingles. They are sewn to the rafters with strips of bark, a bamboo needle being used (Fig. 13, a). Grass is used for thatching in a few places. Across the south end of the house, on a level with the tops of the walls, there is a deep shelf of bamboo. This is used as a storage place.

There are always two and sometimes three doors. These are about 5 feet high and 2 feet 3 inches wide, extending down to the floor. The main doorway is in the west side, near the southern end. Directly in front of it is the fireplace. The second door is in the eastern side, near the north end. The third, if there is a third, is in the middle of the north wall. The northeastern and northern doors are opened for light and ventilation but are rarely used for entrance. The door itself is made from a stiff panel of bamboo woven in wicker work. It rests against the inside of the door jambs, with its lower edge on the floor. Doors are only fastened when the owner is absent. A string is fastened to the center of the door and its other end attached to a stick which is wedged across the jambs on the outside.

354 In cold weather, the walls of the house are lined with rush mats which are fastened up with bamboo pins (Fig. 13, b). Similar mats are used to cover the floor, except immediately around the 352 fireplace. The only furniture consists of marking stools (Fig. 13, b) and there are rarely more than one of these in a house, such seats being reserved for guests and family heads. The beds are simple mats which are unrolled on the floor at night and put away in the daytime. In a few places, tent-like mosquito nets of raffia cloth

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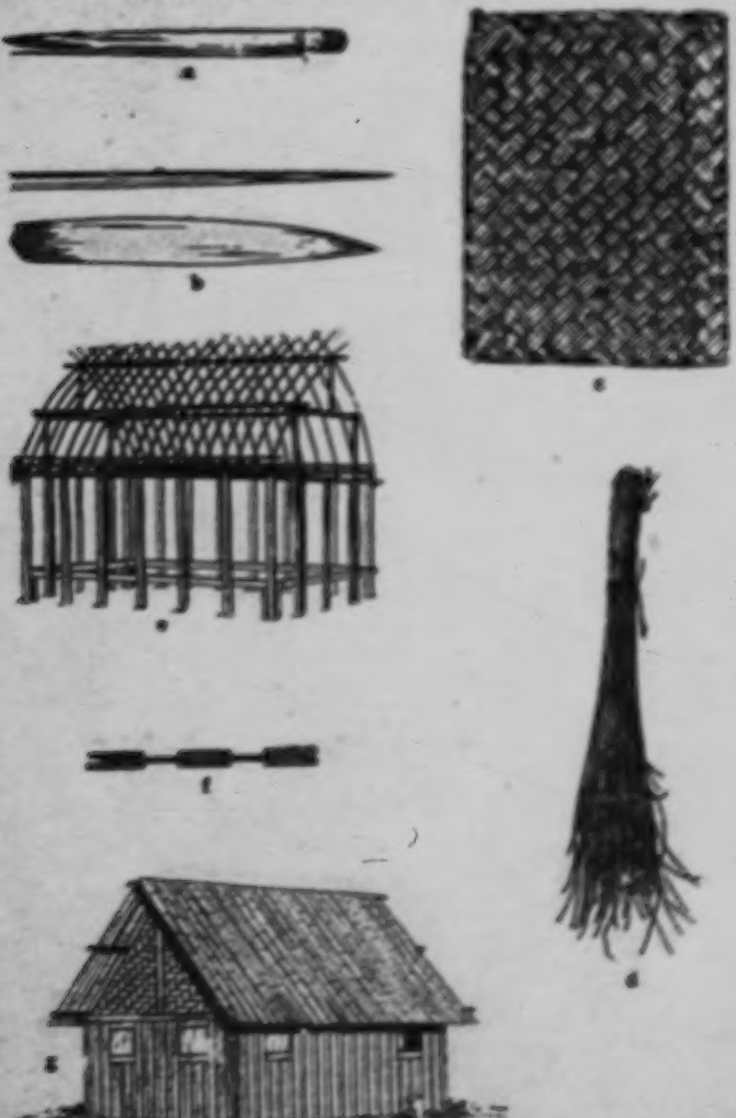

FIG. 18. Houses, etc. a, Bamboo Thatching Needle; b, Pins for Mat Lining of House; c, d, Dust Pan and Broom; e, Frame of Thatch House; f, Section of Wall of Wooden House; g, Wooden House, Ikalamavony.

352 nets in use. These are made from three long strips of cloth sewn together side by side and at the ends. They are hung from the rafters and reach to the floor, the lower edges being tucked in under the sleeping mat.

342 The Tanala houses are comfortable and well adapted to the climate, the only disadvantage being that they are rather smoky.
356 The fire is kept going constantly, and in time the rafters and inside of the thatch become thoroughly blackened. *For some reason*, perhaps the general humidity, this smoke deposit is as glossy as black lacquer and gives a really decorative effect. Most of the houses are kept scrupulously clean. The floor mats are changed frequently, and the whole house swept at least once a day. Brooms made from palm splints and dust pans of matting are employed (Fig. 18, *c*, *d*).

342 There seem to be no special ceremonies attendant on house building or on first entering the new house, although the work is usually begun on an auspicious day. One informant mentioned a charm for house building, but I could not learn its composition or how it was used.

The Zafimaniry dwellings are also rectangular and are oriented in the same way as those of the rest of the tribe, but they are greatly superior in workmanship and solidarity (Fig 18, *g*). They seem to be identical with the houses used by the Betsileo at the beginning of the historic period, and the Zafimaniry no doubt brought the type with them when they fled from the plateau.

The houses are rather small, the largest rarely being more than 15 feet long, and are rather wide in proportion to their length, some being almost square. They are usually built on terraces or on stone-faced earth platforms 18 inches to 2 feet 6 inches high. If on a terrace, a ditch 18 inches wide and of the same depth is dug round the
[361] house about 2 feet out from the walls, for drainage. The disposition of the houses in villages is very irregular and hardly two will be at the same level.

335 All the main timbers are made of hard wood and are carefully
342 squared and dressed. The three main posts are oblong in section, 3 to 4 inches thick and 8 to 10 inches wide at the base, tapering to about 6 inches wide at the top. They are firmly planted in the ground at either end and in the center of the house, their broad faces being at right angles to its long axis. The center post is usually slightly larger than the other two. Their tops are deeply notched to receive the ridgepole, which is also of hard wood, *round*, and about 4 inches

in diameter. The height of the ridgepole varies, but is usually 12 to 15 feet. 342 335

The walls are supported by four corner posts about 5 inches square and 5 to 6 feet high, which are also planted in the earth. These are connected by heavy stringers at the top and bottom. The stringers are 4 to 6 inches wide and 3 to 4 inches thick, and are placed with their broad faces vertical. They are cut into tenons at the ends and mortised into the corner posts. The walls are made from alternate thick and thin strips of wood. The former are of the same thickness as the stringers and 3 to 4 inches wide. They are mortised into the stringers at the top and bottom and grooved along the sides to receive the edges of the alternate thin strips. These are only ½ to ¾ inch thick, with an exposed face of the same width as the wide strips. They are set in between the wide strips with their ends resting in grooves in the stringers (Fig. 18, f).

All the posts, stringers, wall boards, etc., in a given house are of the same dimensions throughout and carefully finished. The work shows a regularity almost equal to that of good European carpentry. The joining is extraordinarily good. Each piece is fitted and adjusted before it is put in place and the joints are so close that neither air nor light is admitted. The tenons and mortises are so exact that no pins or lashings are required. The entire house can readily be knocked down and reassembled on a new site and apparently this was sometimes done when new villages were established.

The gable ends of the house, above the walls, are filled with mats 342 of split and woven bamboo. These are double, with a layer of clay or cow dung between to make them air tight. In the southern gable, high up, there is usually a smoke hole, framed with wood and closed with a wooden shutter (Fig. 19, a). Rarely, the gable ends are thatched, a few strips of bamboo being fastened across over the thatch to keep it in place.

The roof is rather steeply pitched. The rafters are made from small bamboos or peeled saplings, reinforced with transverse pieces of bamboo at intervals. The roof is sometimes thatched with leaves of the Traveler's Palm or grass, but is more commonly composed of several layers of bamboos. These are split, flattened, and bent over the ridgepole, their ends extending down to the eaves. The eaves are very narrow, extending only 3 or 4 inches beyond the house walls.

Planks are often fastened against the roof at either end with the broad face out. This serves to confine the thatch and also to protect it from the wind. In the Betsileo houses, these planks cross at the

342 peak of the roof and project about 3 feet above it. They are pointed, or carved into graceful curves, like horns. I never saw this among the Zafimaniry, but informants said it sometimes occurred. The points represent the horns of cattle, but none of my informants knew why they were used, or attached other than a decorative significance to them.

The standard house has eight windows, most of which are never opened. There are two in each wall, placed rather nearer the ends than the center. Some of the more recent houses depart from this plan, limiting the number to two or three. The main window, which is used for entrance, is near the southern end of the west wall. All the windows are usually of the same size and construction. They are square, about 2 feet 6 inches on a side, with a well-made frame and a solid wooden door turning on pin hinges. The sill is 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet above ground. Stone pillars about 6 inches in diameter and 18 inches high, or sections of tree trunk, are planted just inside and outside the entrance window to serve as steps. These are called *tokotona*. The use of such a doorway requires a good deal of agility, but the natives say that the high sills serve to keep pigs, etc., out of the house and small children in. They also give the householder a great advantage in case of attack.

The windows open inward and are secured by heavy wooden bolts sliding under cleats. The southwestern window is provided with a crude sort of lock. The center of the bolt is cut into a series of squares with ridges between. In the jamb of the window, or sometimes in the shutter itself, there is a small hole. On leaving the house, the householder inserts a curved iron (Fig. 19, *c*) through this hole, catches its point on one of the ridges carved on the bolt, and slides the bolt home. Security during his absence is assured by varying the distance of the bolt from the hole, so that too long or too short a key will not work.

The northern half of the house is usually ceiled with transverse rafters. These rest on the top of the wall. Over the rafters bamboos are laid longitudinally. They are often covered with first a layer of grass and then a layer of clay, making a strong, smooth floor. The attic formed in this way is really a small room, high enough in the center for a man to stand erect. It is used for storage of all sorts, [417] but never for sleeping. The attic is reached by a ladder made from a notched log (*tohatra*) or, less frequently, by notches cut in the center post of the house. The foot of the ladder is usually planted immediately in front of the entrance to the house.

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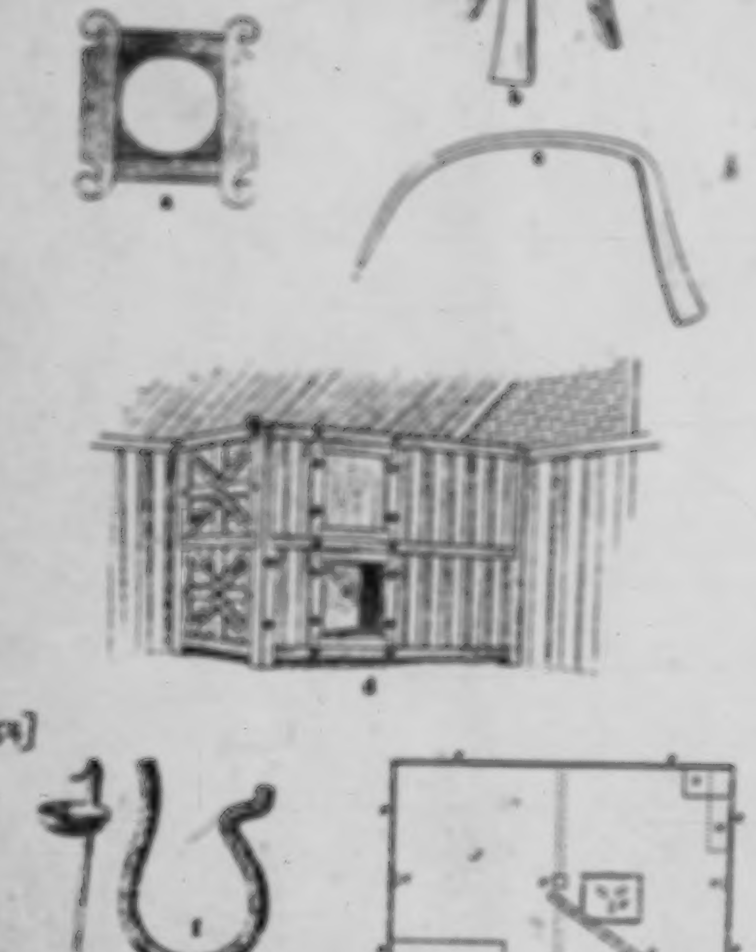

Fig. 13. Furniture. a, Smoke hole; b, Wooden Stool; c, Key; d, Wooden Bed; e, Iron Lamp; f, Hanger; g, Clay Lamp; h, Ground Plan of House.

354 The fireplace is southwest of the center post. It is always far enough away from the walls so that it can be approached from all sides. It is rectangular, about 2 feet on a side, and is depressed 2 to 3 inches below the floor level. It is surrounded by small slabs of stone set on edge. One or more tripods, made from slender stones planted in the earth, serve to support the cooking pots. Among the Betsileo these stones are sometimes carefully shaped, but all those seen among the Zafimaniry were rough.

352 Along the southern wall there are commonly one or more hanging shelves loaded with utensils, baskets, etc. On the center post, or on the wall opposite the entrance, a small openwork basket for spoons is hung. In the southeast corner there is usually a wooden chest. In front of this is a stand for a water jar. This is usually made from a small tree with its branches lopped to form a support for the jar. It is about 18 inches high.

Against the west wall, to the left of the entrance and filling the rest of that side of the house, is the bed (Fig. 19, d). This is a huge wooden structure, resembling a wardrobe. It is built in permanently, the walls of the house forming the back and southern end. The front and northern end are nearly as high as the house wall. The top is open. The inner walls of the bed are constructed of grooved lumber, like the house walls. There are longitudinal beams halfway up. In the center of the east side there are two doors, one above, the other below. The lower half of the bed is used for storage, setting hens, etc., the upper half for sleeping. The bed itself is made of split bamboos or saplings laid longitudinally, with grass and mats on top. At night, the father and mother of the family retire into this structure and shut the door. Everyone else sleeps on mats laid on the floor.
[58] The beds are usually carved.

The Zafimaniry use matting stools, like the other Tanala, but have in addition well-made wooden stools, usually with three legs (Fig. 19, b). These are carved from a section of log. I never saw
[422] more than one wooden stool in a house. This stool is the property of the father and no one else can use it while he is present.

The Zafimaniry houses are well suited to their environment,
356 for the winter season in their territory is cold, with chilling fogs, but they are poorly kept. The floors are rarely swept and spilled food, etc., is simply trodden in. When the floor mats become too soiled, new ones are laid down on top, the floor itself being of earth. In one house I counted sixteen layers of mats, each with its accumu-

lated filth. Vermin thrive under such conditions and it is almost 356
impossible for a white man to sleep in one of these dwellings.

ARTIFICIAL LIGHT

The Tanala usually keep to the house after sunset, except on 354
moonlight nights. The only lights used in the open air are torches, usually flaming brands of resinous wood. Better torches, for night fishing, are made from bundles of long, dry leaves tied together at intervals of 3 to 4 inches.

Inside the house, most families are content with the light of the fire. The Zafimaniry make a limited use of small iron lamps (Fig. 19, *e*) like those of the Betsileo. The lamp consists of a small bowl attached to the side of a long spike. The whole is usually forged from a single piece of metal. The lower end of the spike is pointed and is thrust into either the earth floor or a heavy block of wood. The upper end is bent down over the bowl and then recurved, forming a small hook. Sometimes this is forked and spread, resembling the horns of cattle. The bowl is filled with grease and has a floating wick, twisted from a bit of bark cloth or commercial cotton fabric. A lump of fat is impaled on the hook above the bowl and slowly melts down, feeding the lamp. Iron lamps with multiple bowls seem to be unknown.

All the Tanala use tapers made by impaling the kernels of castor oil beans side by side on a thin splint of bamboo or other stiff material. The first bean is lit at the fire and the taper laid horizontally across a bowl or other raised object with the burning end protruding beyond its side. When the first bean is nearly consumed, the taper is picked up and inverted to light the next. Such tapers require almost constant attention. They are reminiscent of the candle nut tapers used in Polynesia.

COSTUME

In describing Tanala clothing it is necessary to distinguish 291
between the Ikongo, the Menabe in general, and the Zafimaniry. [164]
The garments of the first two resemble those of the east coast tribes while those of the Zafimaniry are of the plateau pattern. The two types differ so widely that it seems best to describe the Zafimaniry separately.

In pre-European times, the Ikongo dressed exclusively in soft mats. They made no use of true cloth and bark cloth was employed only for women's belts. The Menabe, on the other hand, rarely

291 used mats for clothing. Their garments were made from bark cloth in the earliest times, then, after the introduction of weaving, from raffia cloth.

[177] Except among the Zafimaniry, Tanala costume has been little influenced by European contact. Commercial cotton cloth is beginning to come into use, but the garments are still made according to the ancient pattern. The men regularly wear a smock (*akanjo*). The Tanala say that this garment was originally made from a single long strip of material with a hole in the center, for the head. This strip covered the body front and back, but was so narrow that the sides did not meet. It was allowed to hang loose, the lower edges coming to a little above the knee. Later, the strip was made wider and sewn up along the left side. The edges overlapped on the right side and were held together by a tie or by a wooden button and loop (Fig. 20, a). Still later, it was sewn up both sides—the modern form. The original poncho type did not become obsolete among the Menabe until about sixty years ago.

The matting *akanjo* of the modern Ikongo is made in five pieces, one for each half of the front and back and a large, circular piece for the skirt (Fig. 20, b). Each garment is made to its owner's measure. The neck is cut square or V-shaped and there are no sleeves. The skirt, which comes to a little below the knee, flares somewhat, to permit free leg movement. Sometimes a pocket is woven into the front of the skirt on the right side.

The raffia *akanjo*, worn by most of the Menabe, is made from a single broad strip of raffia cloth with a hole cut in the center for the head. The neck is reinforced with a yoke of the same material (Fig. 16, c). Work *akanjo* are sleeveless, but those worn on dress occasions are often made with full-length sleeves puffed at the wrist. This is probably due to European influence. The skirt is moderately full and somewhat longer than in the matting *akanjo*. The pocket, if any, is in the middle of the back, between the shoulder blades. It opens inside the garment. It is difficult for the wearer to reach it, but quite impossible for anyone else to pick it. This is the reason which the Tanala assign for placing it in such an inconvenient position.

At the present time, all Tanala men wear a loin cloth (*salaka*) under the *akanjo*. This is considered essential for decency and is worn even with European trousers. The Menabe say that they have always used the *salaka*. I could get no information on this point for the Ikongo, but I doubt whether they used it in the earliest period. The men of the southeast coast tribes, who used mat

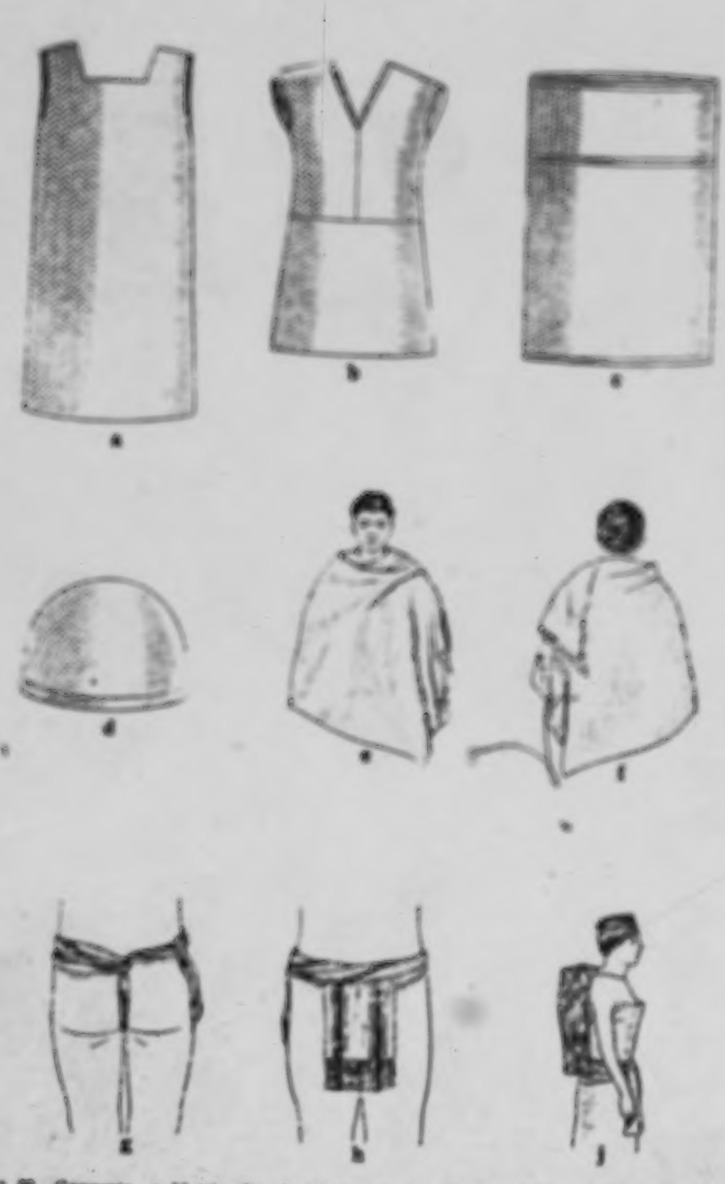

FIG. 20. Garments. a, Matting Smock, Old Style; b, Matting Smock, Present Style; c, Matting Dress; d, Man's Hat; e, f, Man in *Lamba*, Front and Rear; g, h, Loin Cloth, Rear and Front; j, Woman in Costume.

291 *akanjo* identical with those of the Ikongo, did not wear the *salaka* until compelled to do so by their Imerina conquerors.

The *salaka* consists of a strip of soft fabric 6 to 10 inches wide and 6 to 8 feet long. In adjusting it, 2 to 4 inches at one end is turned back and held against the abdomen with one hand. The rest is then passed backward between the legs, up over the right buttock, and around the waist from right to left. The forward end is then released and hangs down outside the waist band, forming a short apron. The long rear end is then passed under the strip coming from between the legs behind, carried back around the waist once more, from left to right, and finally tucked in at the front or side (Fig. 20, g, h).

Belts are rarely worn. They are put on under the *akanjo*, so that they are concealed. Small boxes for fire-making outfits and flat pouches of rawhide are often worn hanging on the breast, also inside the *akanjo*. On long journeys men wear simple rawhide sandals (Fig. 11, b).

Men sometimes wear caps made from the skin of an ox hump (Fig. 11, h). I was also told of caps of lemur fur, worn on dress occasions, but these have always been rare, and I saw no examples. From the descriptions, they seem to be made from a whole pelt sewn together at the ends. The top is open.

Both sexes wear brimless caps woven from the glossy outer layer of the papyrus rush, from palm leaves, or from sedge. The strips employed are, as a rule, narrower than those used in mat or basket weaving, some specimens running sixteen strips to the inch. The simpler caps are nothing more than small, square-bottomed baskets. In those made from soft sedge, the body of the basket is allowed to mold itself to the head, like a skull cap, while its edges are rolled back around the rim (Fig. 20, d). In other caps, made from stiffer material, the basket is turned partly inside out, the reversed portion forming a band on the outside of the cap. This type has the disadvantage of exposing the rough side of the material. To avoid this, various composite forms have been developed. One type is made with a wide flat band which encircles the head, the lower third of its width being turned up inside, and a separate crown whose edges are turned down and sewn or woven into the band about ½ inch below its upper edge (Fig. 21, b). In another type the crown is flat and square, and is sewn directly to the upper edge of the band, which is rolled outward instead of inward. The outside edge of the band is brought up almost to the crown and pulled in with a

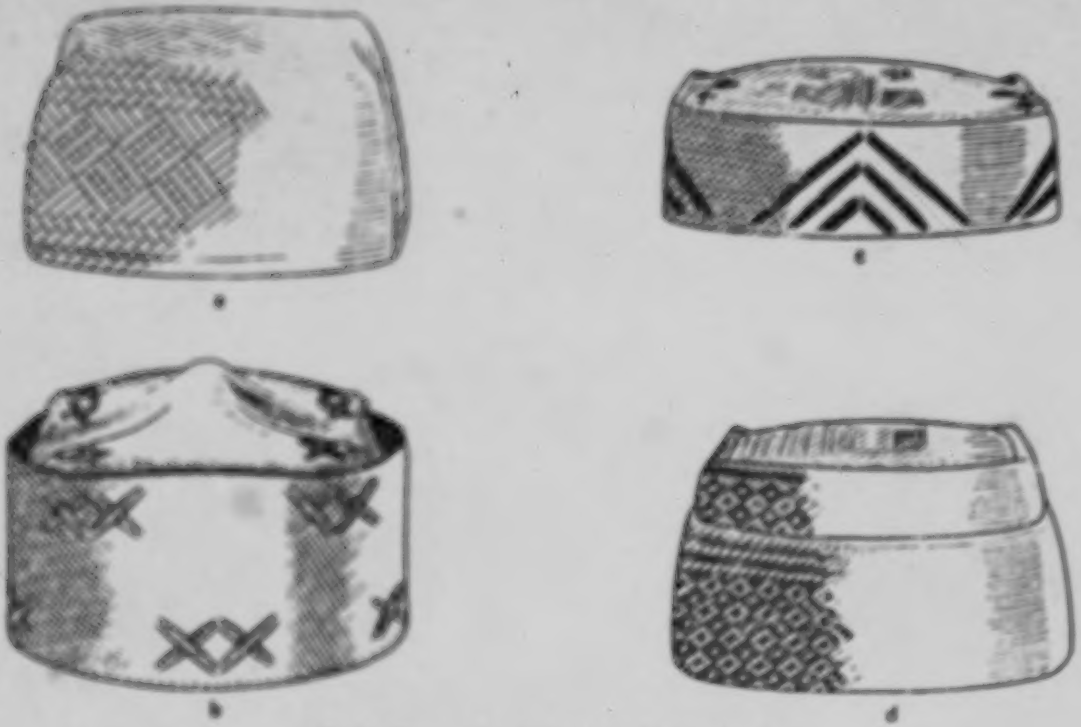

Fig. 21. Hats a, b, Men's Hats; c, d, Women's Hats.

291 draw string, so that the crown juts out above it (Fig. 21, d). In still another type, a narrow strip is sewn in between the flat crown and the band.

I was unable to trace the distribution of these various types of cap. The skull caps of soft sedge seem to be more popular with the Ikongo than the more elaborate forms, but I am under the impression that all the forms are used by all the Tanala gentes except the Zafimaniry. The one-piece caps are usually worn by men and the composite forms by women. Among the eastern gentes, who are [531] in contact with the Betsimisaraka, women's caps are usually decorated with woven colored designs similar to those used on mats, but finer and more elaborate. Elsewhere, they are usually plain. Men's caps are rarely colored, but are usually embroidered with dyed raffia or *hafotra* in simple geometric designs (Fig. 21, a, b).

The main garment of Tanala women is a straight, tubular dress, like a sack open at both ends. This is large enough to be easily slipped on over the head and long enough to reach from the armpits to about 3 inches below the knee. It is held in place by a narrow belt. The fabric is so stiff that the upper part stands up and covers the body. When working in the fields, the upper part is folded back over the belt and hangs like an overskirt. In rainy weather, the belt is removed, and the whole garment pulled up until the upper part covers the head like a hood (Fig. 20, j).

The mat dresses of the Ikongo are made from two or three cylindrical sections sewn edge to edge (Fig. 20, c). The construction of the raffia dresses of the Menabe (Fig. 16, d) has been described under Manufacture of Cloth. In both cases, the belts are narrow bands of bark cloth or commercial fabric tied in front. They are not decorated.

Married women usually have the breasts bare. In the presence of strangers they draw up their dresses and hold the upper edges under their arms. Unmarried women and girls wear short, tight-fitting, sleeveless jackets of commercial cloth, or brassieres. The jackets are probably due to Arab influence. The ordinary brassieres are plain strips of soft matting 3 to 6 inches wide. Those worn on dress occasions are made in two parts, a broad strip, tapering slightly toward the ends, which is shaped to fit and support the breasts, and a narrower strip, often of very fine weave, which goes across the back (Fig. 22, b).

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855 An important article of clothing for women is the baby cover. This is a square mat, about 18 inches across, which is worn hanging

over the shoulders. It is held by a string about the neck. Another 291
type of baby cover is shaped like the three sides and bottom of an 655
oblong box (Fig. 22, a). Apparently each of these types is used by different gentes, but I could not learn their distribution. The baby cover is intended primarily to protect the child from sun and rain when it is carried on its mother's back, but it also serves to keep the woman's back warm and I often saw the covers worn when no child was being carried.

The Zafimaniry have never dressed in either mats or bark cloth 291
and make little use of raffia cloth. In pre-European times their garments were made from finely woven *hafotra* cloth. Men wore the salaka, already described, and a mantle or blanket (*lombo*). The *lombo* is a rectangular piece of cloth 6 to 8 feet long and 4 to 5 feet wide. It is always made from two strips sewn side by side. It is draped about the shoulders, the right end, which is somewhat longer, being thrown over the left shoulder so that it hangs down the back (Fig. 20, e, f). It is taken off during violent labor. For easy work, the two sides are folded back on the shoulders, leaving the arms free.

Women formerly wore the *lombo* and a kilt, made from a cloth wrapped about the waist, which extended to just below the knee. The brassiere was not worn, and there were no baby covers in this group. Simple basket caps were worn by both sexes, but women frequently went bareheaded.

At the present time the original Zafimaniry costume is quite obsolete. Men wear trousers and shirts or long-sleeved smocks, usually of cotton flannel. Women wear wrappers of the Mother Hubbard variety. Both sexes retain the *lombo* and do not appear in public without it. The raffia *akanjo* is sometimes worn as a work garment, but never as full dress. Conversely, the other Tanala Menabe often wear the *lombo* as a part of full dress, but not when in ordinary costume.

The Tanala appear to be singularly indifferent to ornaments and 301
rarely wear any when in ordinary costume. Both sexes occasionally have a string of beads tied about one wrist, and men often wear a small bracelet of plain brass or copper wire, but both these are really charms. The women of some of the eastern gentes of the Menabe wear curious neck rings of silver. These are about ⅜ inch thick in the center, tapering to ⅛ inch thick at the ends. The two ends hook together at the back (Fig. 22, d). A few of the younger women also wear earrings of European manufacture.

301 When in full dress, both men and women wear flat silver bracelets, open on one side (Fig. 22, c), and heavy silver neck chains. A few of the bracelets are made locally, but most of them, together with the chains, are obtained from the Betsileo. I never saw a finger ring worn. Feathers, flowers, or other natural products are never used for decoration. Body and face painting occur as a part of some ceremonies, but never for decoration.

302 At present, nearly all men wear their hair cut short, European fashion. Women retain the ancient hair-dressing, which was originally the same for both sexes. The scalp is divided by a series of lengthwise and crosswise partings into a number of rectangular patches, each about 2 inches square. The hair from each patch is then rubbed with grease and water, and braided. In braiding, it is drawn out as tightly as possible, to eliminate the natural kink. If the hair is short and woolly, the end of the braid is wrapped with a thread of raffia and the braids stand out from the head in all directions. If the hair is long, each braid is rolled into a flat, oval plaque, like a leaf, and securely sewn with thread. The plaques lie flat on the head, overlapping. The coiffure is then soaked with oil, to discourage vermin. The hair is rarely dressed oftener than once a month. Combs of wood or bamboo splints are used for dressing the hair, but are never worn (Fig. 22, g, h, j, k). In former times, Zafimaniry men sometimes attached a short string of large beads or some other small charm to the central braid on the back of the head (Fig. 22, e, f).

142 The native beard and body hair are naturally light. There is a good deal of individual variation, but even the hairiest natives are less so than the average north European. Men are almost always clean shaven. I was told that old men sometimes grew beards, but 302 I never saw one. If the facial hair is sparse, it is plucked out with small iron tweezers. If it is fairly heavy, it is shaved off with a small knife of ordinary form (Fig. 1, f). In shaving, the beard is moistened with cold water and scraped off a few hairs at a time. The razors are dull and rough-edged, and the process is slow and painful. Both sexes pluck the pubic and axillary hair.

304 Both men and women tattoo slightly on the arms and breast, but never on the face. The most extensive tattooing is seen among the Zafimaniry, where women often have bracelets tattooed on the wrists and a sort of band or collar on the chest. The designs used here are similar to those used in the native wood carving, but simpler.

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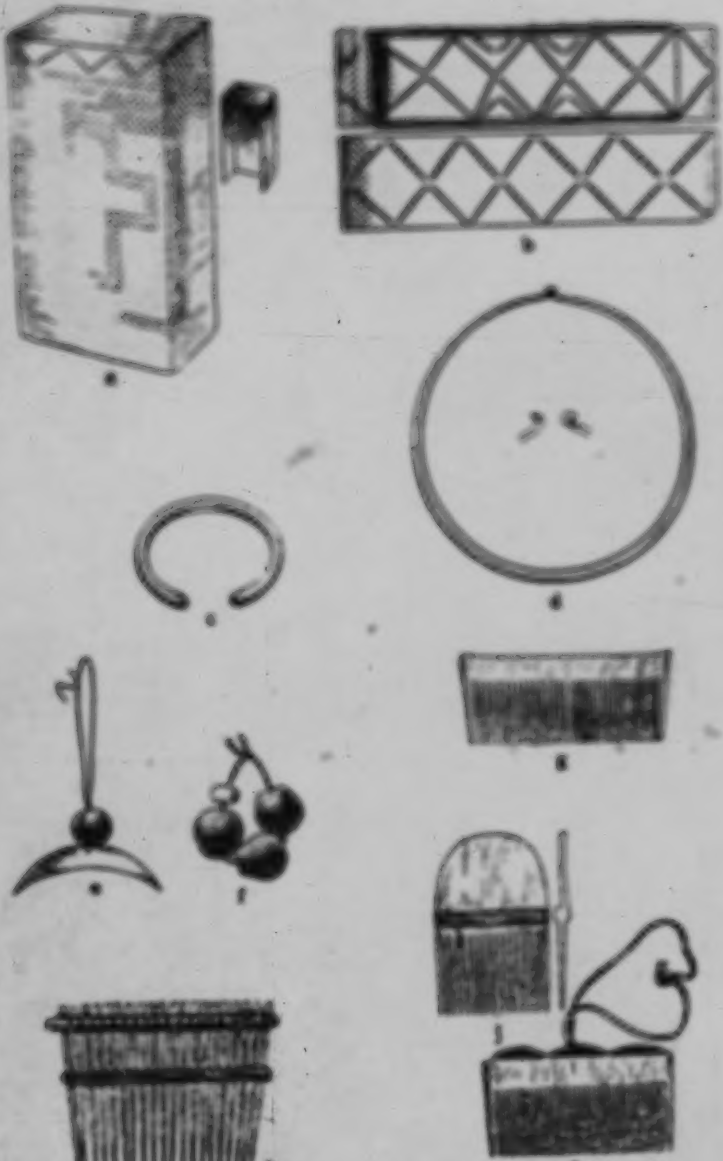

FIG. 22. Ornaments and Combs. a, [illegible]; b, Matting Bracelets; c, Silver Bracelet; d, Silver Neck Ring; e, Hair Ornament, Fossil Ivory and Ancient Bead; f, Hair Ornament, Ancient Beads; g, i, k, Wooden Combs; h, Bamboo Splint Comb.

304 178 The tattooing is purely decorative and informants say that it is a matter of fashion and seems to run in cycles. It will sometimes be out of style for years, then some popular young person will be tattooed and many of his or her friends will follow suit, often using the same designs. The patterns are pricked in with an ordinary needle and then rubbed with soot.

There seems to be no ornamental scarification and no mutilation.

TRANSPORTATION

482 [492] The Tanala make no use of animals for draft or burden and are unfamiliar with the wheel. Women carry loads on the head, but rarely take heavy ones and never act as professional bearers. Men sometimes carry on the head for short distances, but do it clumsily, being accustomed to using a shoulder pole. This pole is made from a large bamboo or sapling of light wood 2½ to 3 inches in diameter and is usually 5 to 6 feet long. If of wood, the bark is removed, but the pole is not shaped in any way. The load is divided as equally as possible and slung from the ends. Heavy loads are carried on a longer pole between two men.

481 The Tanala carry light loads, about thirty pounds per man being the standard pack for long distance travel. However, they march fast, making twenty to thirty miles a day over very difficult country. They march without rests, but halt for two hours or more in the middle of the day, cooking a meal and perhaps sleeping for a time. The trails are mostly very steep and narrow and take the most direct line, with little attention to the slope. There are no bridges.

484 [493] At the present time, white travelers and the richer natives are carried in sedan chairs (*filanjana*), which are borne on the shoulders of four men. The Tanala Menabe say that they did not use this appliance in pre-European times. There seems to have been very little long distance travel prior to the European conquest and even now the average native, unless drafted for labor, rarely goes more than twenty or thirty miles from the village of his birth.

501 Canoes are used, but are relatively unimportant. Most of the streams in the Tanala territory are shallow and swift, with many falls and rapids. There is no regular river transport and most of the canoes are used for ferrying or fishing. They are identical with the river canoes used by the east coast tribes, but are inferior in workmanship. Some of the largest are as much as 25 to 30 feet long, but none of them exceed 2 feet in width.

Canoes are always hewn from green logs, the work proceeding as rapidly as possible, to take advantage of the initial softness of the wood. The outside is roughly shaped with axes and the inside hollowed out through a long slot about one-half the diameter of the log in width. When the sides have been worked to a thickness of 1½ to 2 inches, they are spread until they are nearly vertical. To do this, a row of small fires is kindled along the bottom of the canoe. When they are burning briskly, the cavity is filled with the leaves and stems of a green, succulent plant. The steam from this softens the wood and the sides are gradually opened out by driving in longer and longer thwarts. When the sides have been spread, the canoe, with the thwarts still in place, is weighted and sunk in a stream for a few days until the wood has set. Afterward, the thwarts are removed and the canoe worked smooth inside and out. 396

The above account was obtained from a member of one of the eastern Tanala groups. It seems certain that all the Tanala do not spread the sides of their canoes by this method, but I was unable to determine its distribution. Most of my informants had never seen a canoe made.

Sails are unknown. Paddles, like the canoes, are crudely made. 501 The usual type is about 4 feet long with a moderately broad blade, in the form of a pointed oval, and a plain handle. I often saw spades, or even simple sticks, used as paddles in ferrying and there was a taboo against the use of paddles in one of the large rivers in the Menabe territory. This taboo is now ignored but the old people say that while it was in force the crocodiles in this river never attacked people.

TRADE

The Tanala are not a trading people and I doubt whether, even 438 now, there is a single Tanala merchant or shopkeeper. Until relatively recent times the only commerce has been a little barter with the Betsileo for iron implements, silver jewelry and fine cloth and with Europeans for firearms and beads. The government has attempted to establish weekly markets at a few of the principal towns, but has met with little success.

What trade there is, is in the hands of Betsileo and Imerina who 437 have settled in the larger villages. Their stock consists mostly of trinkets and luxuries, the average Tanala family still producing nearly everything it needs. The value of money is thoroughly understood, but most of the trade is still by barter, the Tanala

437 bringing in various forest products and exchanging them for the merchant's wares.

FOREST PRODUCTS

438 314 The most important articles of trade are beeswax, rubber and raffia. The preparation of the first has already been described. Rubber was formerly an important export, but its value has declined in recent years, due to exhaustion of the wild supply and the low price it brings in competition with cultivated rubber.

314 824 The Tanala were familiar with the properties of rubber in pre-European times, but made little use of it themselves. The only uses I could discover were as a cement and as a material for small, conical tinder boxes. The latter were made only by some gentes of the Ikongo.

Rubber is called *herotra*. The natives divide it into *herotraza*, obtained from trees, and *hero-bahy*, obtained from vines. *Herotraza* is obtained from two trees, the *hero-potsy* and *hero-mena*, literally "white rubber" and "red rubber." The *hero-potsy* is the best. The same methods are used with both species. In one method, the tree is tapped with a series of diagonal cuts and the latex collected in bamboo cups fastened below. It is then poured into a large vessel and coagulated by adding the juice of various acid fruits, *voasarimasy*, *voatrotrokala*, or *voandongoza*.

The other method consists of felling the tree and cutting the trunk into sections 3 to 5 feet long. A section is placed on two wooden horses 18 inches to 2 feet high and a fire kindled underneath. The section is turned constantly, so that all parts will be roasted evenly, and is removed when the bark begins to catch fire. The bark is then stripped off and left in a damp place for eight or ten days. After this, it is pounded in a mortar and washed to free the rubber from dirt and fiber. It is sold in balls which contain a large proportion of impurities.

The *hero-bahy* is obtained from several different vines: *voahentenso*, *voahembory*, *herobanda* and *heromava*. The *herobanda* yields the most latex, but it is hard to coagulate. The *heromava* gives the best grade of rubber. The vines are cut into pieces 1 foot to 18 inches long. These are set upright in bowls or in cups made from the leaves of the Traveler's Palm. Even the roots are dug up and cut into slices to obtain the latex. The rubber is coagulated by boiling it with the juice of acid fruits.

One of the most important forest products is raffia. This is 314
not only an article of trade, but figures largely in native industries. 824
The raffia palm usually grows in low, moist ground. It attains a
height of from 20 to 30 feet. The natives cut the young fronds
from the heart of the leaf head just before they begin to open.
Care is taken not to cut too deeply, which would injure the tree.
The leaflets are then cut from the midrib.

The raffia fiber is a thin, tough membrane which covers both the inner and outer surface of the leaflet. It must be stripped while the leaflets are still fresh. The membrane is loosened from the leaflet at its base, the operator using his thumb nail. A dozen or more leaflets are then gathered into a bundle and the ends of the membranes seized and stripped off with a single long pull. The raffia strips are then knotted together at the small end and hung over horizontal poles to dry. They are kept in the shade for about a day, then completely dried in the sun. When dry, the raffia is done up in large twists and is then ready for the market (Fig. 14, c). The native use of raffia for cordage and in weaving has already been described.

The natives also gather various wild resins and gums for trade [439]
to Europeans, but they make little use of them themselves.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

To the casual visitor it appears as though all the inhabitants 511
of a Tanala village were on much the same economic level. There 556
are no marked differences in the housing, clothing or food of the
different families. No one appears rich, but, on the other hand,
there are few signs of extreme poverty. The only individuals who
seem really poor are a few old women living alone. It is only on
closer acquaintance that one begins to realize the extreme importance
of property in the social structure.

The material wants of the Tanala are few and easily satisfied, 556
but property looms as large to them as to any group of European 454
peasants and their attitude toward it is much the same. There is
no display of wealth and all unnecessary expenditures are frowned
upon, but there is a great love of money for its own sake. Any
actual cash which comes into their hands is carefully hoarded. In
spite of the severe penalties for theft and its relative rarity, the
natives do not trust even their own families where money is concerned. A man who has a hoard of silver keeps it buried in some
place known only to himself and usually does not divulge the fact
even to his sons until he thinks he is about to die.

426 even to his sons until he thinks he is about to die. Loans and other business transactions involving money are always made publicly, in the presence of witnesses, even when they are between members of the same lineage.

423 In discussing the Tanala ideas of property it is necessary to distinguish at the outset between land and property of all other sorts. To understand the native attitude toward land, the local conditions must be kept in mind. In pre-European times the population [361] was sparse and apparently almost static. The villages lay far apart, each one surrounded by a great stretch of uninhabited [433] forest. The natural supply of forest products and of land for pasture always exceeded the local needs. Moreover, the *tavy* method of agriculture required that the land be allowed to lie fallow for from five to ten years between plantings. Under such conditions there was little incentive for individual ownership.

423 621 596 In pre-European times the ultimate ownership of land was vested in the village. Each village owned a definite territory whose limits were established at the time it was founded. The boundaries were usually rivers, mountain ranges or other natural divisions. [721] The villages were jealous of their rights and serious trespass, such as pasturing cattle or cutting *tavy*, would result in war. Transfer of land between lineages of the same village was permissible and not uncommon, but its sale to outsiders was impossible without the consent of the council. Actually, it was so rare as to be almost unknown.

The ownership of land within the village stockade was vested in the various lineages, except for the *kianza* ("village square"), which was common property. Each lineage owned a ward, which was usually a segment extending from the *kianza* to the stockade (see The Village). If a lineage grew too large for its ward, all the members contributed to buy land from the adjoining lineages. When one or more families withdrew to form a new lineage, the ward was divided.

Among the Menabe, fallow land and virgin jungle were, for all practical purposes, held in common. A villager was entitled to place beehives, set traps and gather timber and forest products [233] on any land which was not in use. Cattle could also be pastured anywhere, those of the entire village usually being kept in a single herd. For agricultural purposes the land was, at least in theory, divided into sectors running from the village to the limits of its territory. Each sector lay in the same direction with regard to

the village that a ward within the village occupied with relation to the 621
kianza and was the property of the lineage occupying that ward. 423
Actually, the outlines of these lineage holdings were irregular. Their 596
limits were set by natural boundaries and there was an attempt to equalize their value.

At the time of making the *tavy*, the lineage land was temporarily 621
divided among the various families, but it reverted to the lineage 596
as soon as the crop was harvested. Lineage land, or, more correctly, 425
the right to use it for agricultural purposes, was sometimes sold to members of other lineages within the village. This was a last resort and was only considered justifiable when some member of the lineage had been enslaved and his ransom could not be raised otherwise. It seems that such sales were often considered rather as pledges for loans, for every lineage tried to keep its land intact and would go to great lengths to buy back any which had been sold. When a lineage seceded from a village, it forfeited its land rights and its former territory could be occupied by the other lineages without recompense to it.

Among the Menabe two new developments in land ownership 423
have occurred in recent times. Due to the increasing value of forest 178
products, the lineages now preempt for their members the right to 596
gather honey, wax and raffia within their territories. There is also an increasing tendency toward individual ownership of land. This
is correlated with the introduction of irrigated rice culture. The [243]
preparation of rice beds requires much labor and they must be kept in repair constantly. A family which builds a terrace system is felt to have established its individual right to the land and retains it as long as the terraces remain in use. If the land is allowed to lie fallow for any length of time, however, it reverts to the lineage. This development is so recent that, as yet, there seems to be no rule regarding the sale of rice beds to members of other lineages.

Among the Ikongo the rules regarding land ownership seem to [184]
be much the same as among the Menabe except that individual ownership of rice fields is much older and better established. Such fields are inherited within the family and the lineage has little or no right over them.

All property other than land is individually owned. This extends 421
even to the least important tools and utensils. Everything in the 593
establishment, from the house down, belongs to some particular member of the family. These rights of ownership are recognized even between parent and child in spite of the great theoretical power

421 of the father. A clear distinction is maintained between the property
593 of husband and wife. A woman owns all the baskets, mats, etc., which she has made and everything which she has received through gift or inheritance. Similarly, the wife has no claim on anything belonging to the husband at the time of their marriage, or on anything which he may make or inherit later.

The economic independence of wives is well illustrated by the provisions which exist among the Menabe for the division of any increase in the family wealth after marriage. The rules vary slightly with the gens, but in general the wife is entitled to one half of the increase, other than inheritances. This becomes her absolute property and is retained even when she is divorced with cause. She can demand a division at any time and it is not uncommon for wives who do not get on well with their husbands to take their share of the profits as they come in and bank them with their own relatives. This holds for an only wife, or a first one. The rights of subsidiary wives are less clearly defined, but the husband is expected to make gifts to them from time to time. These become their absolute property. Among the Ikongo there is no such regular division of profits, but a husband is expected to make his wives frequent gifts. In both groups it is considered bad form for a husband to make gifts to his subsidiary wives without the first wife's permission.

428 Inheritance is fixed by law and it is impossible for a person to make a will. At the same time, a man or woman can give property away even when on the deathbed and the legal heirs have no redress. The only limitation is that land cannot be given outside the family. Old people frequently use this right as a threat to obtain obedience from their children and it is not uncommon for a man to give most of his estate to some favorite son or daughter before his death. As a rule, he will not do this until he thinks his end is imminent, for a gift once made cannot be recalled. In all matters pertaining to
[597] inheritance, individuals who have been adopted have the same rights as those born into a similar relationship.

It is universally prohibited for a husband to inherit from his wife or a parent from a child, but in other respects the rules of inheritance differ somewhat in the northern and southern divisions of the tribe.

Among the Ikongo a wife cannot inherit from her husband. Apparently this works little hardship except in the case of barren women. The wife usually has her own property and seems to possess an informal life interest in her children's share of the husband's estate.

She continues living with them and is supported by them. Barren 428 women return to their own families on the death of the husband.

The estate of a childless person is divided equally among the surviving brothers and sisters by the same mother. If none of these are living, it is divided among the brothers' children. The sisters' children, who will belong to other lineages, do not share in it. A woman's estate is divided equally among her children. A man's estate is divided into two or more equal shares, one for his children by each of his wives. Each share is then further subdivided according to the number of children.

Brothers and sisters inherit in equal portions except that daughters 428 rarely receive land if there are any sons. This is designed to keep 596 land in the lineage, for if inherited by a woman it would ultimately pass to her children and thus be lost. If a daughter has married within the village she is given the equivalent of her share of land in money or cattle. If she has married outside she forfeits her right to inherit land or its equivalent and usually receives less than her normal share of the other goods.

Among the Menabe, the estates of unmarried men and all other 429 childless individuals are divided as among the Ikongo. An only wife, or the first wife in a polygamous household, has an absolute right to one-third of her husband's estate, exclusive of property which he may have inherited after the marriage. This holds even if she is barren. The largest share of the residual estate, usually amounting to about one-half, goes to the eldest son, who becomes head of the family group on his father's death (see The Lineage). The rest is divided equally among the other sons and daughters except that women who have married outside the village receive a smaller share. A woman's estate is divided equally among her children unless she is the mother of the family's eldest son. If so, he receives the greater part of her estate as well as his father's.

Secondary wives in polygamous households cannot inherit from [595] the husband. He usually provides for them by gifts before his death. Individual ownership of land is so recent in this group that there are, as yet, no fixed rules governing its inheritance. Most of it seems to be taken by the eldest son and it is rarely given to daughters.

VI. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY

594 The Tanala family consists of a man, his wife or wives and their children. Among the Menabe the father is, in theory, the absolute head of the family with authority over the persons and property of not only his own children but his sons' children as well. Actually his authority varies with his personality and I even found a few cases in which fathers had been deserted by their children and reduced to want. Sons are not considered heads of families until after their father's death. Among the Ikongo authority over the children seems to be vested in the mother, while control of the family property is vested in the father. Such a condition might easily arise in a group which was in transition from a matriarchal system with communal
[591] ownership to a patriarchal one with individual ownership. In both groups the whole family, including married sons, normally lives together in part of the ward belonging to their lineage (see The Village).

592 595 Although no exact figures are available, at least two-thirds of the Menabe families seem to be monogamous. Polygyny is common, but is only possible to a man with some wealth and social prestige. Among the Ikongo, polygyny is somewhat commoner, but by no means universal. In both cases each wife has her own house, built by the husband at the time of their marriage. In all but two or three of the Menabe gentes the husband must spend one day with each wife, in regular rotation. On that day he assists her and sleeps in her house. If he stays with one wife on another's day, the injured wife is entitled to divorce with alimony (see Divorce). She usually waives this, but the husband must make her a public apology and a substantial present. Among the Ikongo, who hold land individually, each wife is assigned a share of the husband's land. He has to help her to cultivate this on her day, while she feeds herself, her children, and the husband while with her, from its produce. The first wife is called the *Vady Be*, the second *Vady Ivo*, and the third *Vady Masay*. There is no special term for additional wives and a man rarely has more than three. The *Vady Be*, who is always the first wife married, is superior to the others socially and helps the husband to administer the family finances. Often she holds the family purse for current expenses and the others, including the husband, have to apply to her for money. Wives pride themselves on economy and good manage-

ment and money is never disbursed without a long argument. The 595
husband keeps most of his belongings in the *Vady Be's* house and 592
considers it his real home.

In spite of the separate housing for the wives and married sons, the Tanala family is well integrated. It is customary for the entire group to eat together in the house where the father is on that day and cooking is done in rotation. The wives aid each other in all their activities, look after each other's children, etc. There can be no doubt that polygyny does a great deal to lighten the labor of the women and they are quite as much in favor of it as the men.

The family is normally patrilocal, but among the Menabe a 591
strong and rich family may insist that their women continue to live [556]
with them after marriage. In this case the husband comes to the
wife's village or ward in the village, builds the new house there, and assists the men of her lineage in working their common land. Widows with children continue to live with their husband's family or lineage and if they remarry the new husband is usually compelled to come and live with them. This is to safeguard the children, who might otherwise be slighted or abused by their stepfather. Under the matrilocal arrangement the father has little authority in the family and the children feel more closely bound to their mother's lineage than to their father's. It is considered rather disgraceful for a man to consent to live with his wife's kin and ordinarily only one who is poor or of little account will do so.

THE LINEAGE

I have chosen this term to designate a relationship group which 596
is very important in Tanala social and economic life. It is intermediate between the family proper and the larger units of village and gens. The lineage is composed of the recent descendants of one man and his wife or wives, tracing in the male line. Attached to it, but not altogether a part of it, are the wives of lineage members, children of lineage women whose marriages have been matrilocal and, in many cases, one or more families of hereditary slaves.

The lineage might be described as either an expanded family or an embryonic gens. The natives themselves take the former view and use the same term for it as for the family, but it is much larger than a family in the European sense, often numbering as many as seventy-five to one hundred persons. At the same time, it differs from a true gens in the closer blood relationship existing between members, its closer social and economic integration and its rather transitory nature.

596 Thus, while the village and gens are permanent units, the lineages of which they are composed are constantly dissolving and changing, a given lineage rarely persisting more than four generations.

596 554 The lineage is a direct outgrowth of the family. It has already been said that married sons build their houses close to that of the father and that they and their children are under his control as long as he lives. If the brothers are friendly to each other, as is usually the case, they continue to live together after his death, keeping the family land holdings and cattle herd intact. The eldest son becomes the head of the group, in the father's place. He directs the common activities, settles internal disputes and acts as its representative in councils and minor sacrifices. His position is almost like that of the father and he is shown great respect by the other members. At the same time, he has no legal authority over his brothers or their children and must gain his ends by persuasion. As he usually receives more of the father's property than the younger sons, he is generally the richest member of the group and strengthens his position by gifts and loans to the rest. When he dies, his eldest son succeeds to the leadership and the group holds together until split by some serious internal dispute. The reason for such disputes is usually economic, but jealousy is also important in the third and fourth generations. A rich man who cannot succeed to the leadership of the lineage will often demand his share of the common property and found a new lineage.

The members of each lineage live together in a separate ward within the village. They herd their cattle together and help each other in making the *tavy* ("fields for hill rice"). All contribute to the support of poor and old members and, at funerals, all are assessed according to their wealth. Individual property rights are fully recognized, but there is a good deal of informal communism. Within the limits set by good taste, any member may use the tools, etc., belonging to any other, even in his absence. Food is shared freely. [454] In many cases the members will deposit their money with the head of the lineage, who acts as a sort of banker.

Blood ties between members of the same lineage are felt to be almost as close as those between members of the same family. Men and women use the same terms of relationship for each other as for [582] actual brothers and sisters. Marriage within the lineage, although permitted in some cases, is generally frowned upon.

THE VILLAGE

621 361 Until very recent times, isolated dwellings have been unknown among the Tanala, due to the constant danger of attack. The village

organization is now breaking down and the following description 621
applies to conditions among the Menabe fifty to seventy-five years 361
ago. All the Tanala lived in villages of from fifty to eighty families. These villages were built in defensive positions, usually on hilltops, and were fortified by log palisades 10 to 12 feet high and often by deep ditches as well. There was always a ditch at the gate with a narrow bridge of earth leading to the entrance. The bridge was broken down if the villagers learned of an impending attack. In the center of the village there was an open space, long if the village was long and round if it was round, which was called the *kianza*. Bordering on this there was a large house, called by some gentes the *trano be*, by others the *lapa*. This was usually to the east of the *kianza*, but might be to the north or south, never to the west. It was used as a residence by the village chief or the head of one of the lineages. The *kianza* and *trano be* were employed for assemblies of all sorts.

The village was divided into wards, each the property of a lineage. As a rule, each ward fronted on the *kianza* and extended back to the palisade. The number of wards in a village was variable, ranging from two to ten or more. In general old villages showed the greatest number, due to the formation of new lineages through internal disputes. At least in theory, the land belonging to each lineage lay in the same direction in relation to the village that its ward occupied in relation to the *kianza*. When a village moved, each lineage took up a ward and land in the same relative position at the new site. This arrangement was not correlated with differences in social rank or prestige, nor was one direction considered more desirable than another. The only explanation given by the Menabe was that this was an ancient custom.

There were certain things which belonged to the village as a whole. 361
The *tepanony* was a charm or fetish concocted by an *ombiasy* at the 778
time the village was founded. It was believed to protect the villagers from sickness, lightning, and the attacks of malevolent ghosts, but did not protect against enemies. It was buried inside a small stone enclosure in the *kianza* (see Manufacture and Use of Charms). Although great importance was attached to it, it figured little, if at all, in the religious and ceremonial life of the villagers. The village sacred place, always outside the palisade and sometimes a mile or
more away, was used for all the more important rites. Here the [769]
stones commemorating the dead were set up and the sacrifices made to the ancestors, without distinction of lineage. Each village also had its tomb or tombs, varying from one to three in number, which

361 778 were used by all the lineages indiscriminately. The tombs were hidden in dense forest, never less than a half hour's march from the village and usually more (see Tombs).

361 764 Villages were moved only if they had been taken and sacked by an enemy, or if an *ombiasy* advised removal. In either case the new site was chosen by an *ombiasy*. The villagers carried along their *tepanony* and buried it in the *kianza* of the new village. The sacred place was abandoned, the sacrifices being performed at temporary altars until deaths had occurred at the new site and memorial stones had been erected. Corpses were carried back to the old tombs for a time, then new tombs were built and all the bodies transferred.

361 778 New villages, as distinct from removals, were founded as a result of quarrels between factions within a village. One or more lineages would secede in a body and settle at a new site. The place would be chosen by an *ombiasy*, who would also concoct a new *tepanony* for them. The new village would continue to use the sacred place and tombs of the old village for a time, but would establish its own as soon as possible.

THE GENS

618 The gens was the largest social or governmental unit recognized by the primitive Tanala. All larger groupings are directly traceable to outside influences. There was no native name for this unit, but each gens was named and considered itself a separate entity. The members of a gens always occupied a continuous territory, the limits of their land being marked by various natural boundaries such as rivers, ridges, etc. Trespass on this territory by members of another gens was cause for war. If, as sometimes happened, one or more lineages migrated to a distance, the emigrants soon lost touch with the parent body and founded a new gens.

In theory, membership in a gens was based on descent from a common ancestor in the male line and each gens had arisen through the gradual expansion of a single lineage. Traditionally, these lineages entered the country separately and at different times, some coming from the coast, others from the plateau. Each lineage founded a village, new lineages and villages arising through increasing population and internal disputes. Actually, the Menabe also recognized descent in the female line as giving gens membership, if it was coupled with residence with the mother's group. Although informants always gave male descent as the basis, all admitted that their own gentes included illegitimate children of gens women and outside fathers,

descendants of inter-gens marriages which had been matrilocal (see 618
The Family), descendants of slave men and free women, etc. Such persons were attached to their mother's lineage. In the case of matrilocal marriages they would keep their father's taboos in the first generation, but if they married into their mother's gens, as was usually the case, their descendants would be considered full gens members. Individuals connected with the gens through female descent were entitled to use of its land and suffered from no disabilities except that they were debarred from a few offices which were strictly hereditary in the male line. The Ikongo paid more attention to male descent than the Menabe and in historic times their gens membership is said to have been strictly based upon it.

I believe that residence was originally almost as important as descent in establishing gens membership. Certain gentes mentioned in traditions have completely disappeared and it was explained that, having lost their lands through conquest, they had broken up. Their lineages had settled in the villages of other gentes, by permission, and had finally been absorbed.

Each gens was composed of from one to fifty villages all of which 618
recognized the domination of a single chief. Among the Menabe there 631
was rarely more than one gens represented in a village. Among the Ikongo, lineages belonging to the royal gens often lived in the villages of the other gentes, but this was probably a late development, linked with the rise of royal power in that group.

SOCIAL CLASSES

Until about one hundred and twenty-five years ago the Menabe 567
recognized only two classes in society: the *hova*, who were free persons belonging to a gens, and the *ndevo*, who were prisoners of war or their
descendants. There were no hereditary distinctions among the *hova* [554]
although differences in wealth and ability were, of course, recognized. Most of the *ndevo* were slaves. Some distinction was made between slaves who were Tanala by birth and those captured from other tribes. The former would often be ransomed by their relatives and their bondage was, in general, lighter. Marriages between such slaves and free people were quite common, especially if the slave was a member of a good family in his own gens. At death, the body of a Tanala slave would be returned to his own gens for burial in his village tomb, unless his village lay at too great a distance. Slaves, both Tanala and foreign, were further divided into chattel slaves and family slaves. The former were usually prisoners of war, the latter

567 persons born into servitude, but there was no strict rule. A docile prisoner who served his master well would come to be considered a family slave, while a born slave who was lazy or troublesome would be degraded to chattel slavery. Chattel slaves simply represented so much wealth and labor power and could be sold at will. Family slaves, on the other hand, were united to their owners by ties of affection and were very rarely sold. The master could sell them, but such an act would be reprehended by the entire village. Families which had been slaves for three or four generations acquired a certain status in the village. They were permitted to own property, had their own tombs, and would only be sold if guilty of some crime. A slave family of this sort would be attached to some lineage and its economic status would differ little from that of a free family. After the Menabe came [686] under the domination of the Imerina empire, free persons were occasionally enslaved for debt, but this was always rare and the slavery was light. The individual was considered as a pledge rather than a true slave, for his lineage would make every possible effort to ransom him. A slave who had been ransomed by his relatives at once regained his social position.

565 555 Good slaves were often freed by their master and would then attach themselves to his family as clients. These, their descendants, and the offspring of certain marriages between slave and free formed a class of free *ndevo* who were socially intermediate between the slaves and the *hova*. Individuals of this class might rise to wealth and importance in the community, but they were debarred from holding office and from burial in the village tomb.

565 During the reign of Andrianampoimerina, founder of the Imerina empire, a third class came into existence among the Menabe. The Zafiakotry gens, which had been defeated by its neighbors, tendered voluntary submission to him. He helped it to conquer several of the other gentes and recognized it as the ruling gens for this division of the Tanala. All the Zafiakotry then assumed the rank of [643] *andriana,* i.e. nobles, while their chief became a king. Although the assumption of *andriana* rank brought with it social prestige, most of the Zafiakotry continued to live in their own gens territory and to cultivate their own land, etc. The conquered gentes recognized the authority of the Zafiakotry chief, but they paid no tribute to the Zafiakotry gens, nor were they displaced from their land.

The Tanala Ikongo were also divided into three classes, called *hova, vahoaka* and *ndevo.* These corresponded to the *andriana, hova,* and *ndevo* classes of the Menabe. All that has been said of

the two lower classes among the Menabe is equally applicable to the 565
Ikongo. There were, however, two gentes of *hova* rank. One of these, the Zafirambo, claimed Arab descent, the other, called simply *hova*, apparently was an offshoot of the Bara tribe. The Zafirambo 173
established their claim to *hova* rank as follows (MSS. of Sadaro
Antoine): "After Andriamarofela [head of the original lineage] had 631
settled at Maromanditra, on the left bank of the Manambondro River, his descendants multiplied rapidly and soon occupied almost the whole Sandrananta valley. They were excellent warriors, respected by the neighboring gentes. They always occupied Sandrananta, but at a later time, when the neighboring gentes were constantly at war with each other, some of them asked the 'hova Zafirambo' of Sandrananta to govern them and put an end to strife. The children of Rabelaza and Rabezara [heads of the Vohitrosy gens] constantly fought among themselves, wanting to be king. One of the sons of Rabelaza, called Tsizaky, went to Sandrananta to ask for a king. He was given Ramanavivitry, who installed himself first at Ambalavolo and later at Vohibalotra. Part of the Vohitrosy gens was hostile to him and he conquered it, bringing the whole gens under his rule. The establishment of Zafirambo kings put an end to war, for no chief of the Vahoaka [original inhabitants] would dare to attack a gens governed by a Zafirambo. If he did, all the Zafirambo of Sandrananta would be against him. The Zafirambo kings married Vahoaka women and the two groups soon became a single family. It is for this reason that we now have Zafirambo and Vahoaka living in the same villages."

Under the Tanala system social class and gentile affiliation were 565
inseparable. When a gens succeeded in dominating other gentes and 618
making them recognize the control of its chief, or of chiefs of its blood, all members of the gens assumed noble rank. The bulk of the "nobles" would continue to live in their own territory and while their new status brought social prestige its economic value was almost nil. Their main duty in the state was to act as a police force, keeping peace among the subject gentes and protecting them from outside aggression. Among the Tanala the whole institution of nobility was relatively new and I could learn of no case in which a noble gens had lost its domination. Among neighboring tribes, who had essentially the same system, a noble gens which had been conquered was not degraded to the common level. Such gentes formed a class intermediate between nobles and commoners and retained a certain social prestige. They were distinguished by a class name and might have

565 618 special rights, as that of killing cattle for the commoners, but they were rigidly excluded from any part in the government.

REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 Courtship, the ceremony of marriage, ceremonies used for lifting the ban on certain degrees of relationship, etc., have been described in the section, Life Cycle of the Individual. Only the social control of marriage will be treated here. The only bar to marriage among the Tanala is relationship in certain degrees, but there are opinions as to the desirability of certain types of union which, although not formulated as prohibitions, do much to influence individual choice. Marriages between the members of different generations, or between persons with a marked disparity in age, are usually looked upon with disfavor and are infrequent. Marriages within the lineage are considered undesirable and are very rare. The Menabe were formerly strongly in favor of marriage within the village, but there has been a change in their attitude within the last fifty years. They now favor marriage outside the village, saying that such marriages give the young people a greater range of choice and are more permanent. The Ikongo have always favored marriage outside the village, perhaps [618] because of their greater fear of incest. Marriages within the gens are considered highly desirable by both groups and were normal in ancient times. Since the French domination has put an end to wars, intergens marriages have increased considerably.

572 582 Relationships controlling marriage are based on actual blood relationship, on relationship through marriage, and on relationship established by the *mifanangena* ("blood brotherhood") ceremony. In [595] polygynous families the children stand in the same relation to the relatives of their father's plural wives as to those of their own mother. If a widow with children remarries, the children stand in the same relation to the new husband's family as to that of their actual father. Relationship based on marriage is as binding as blood relationship in regulating marriages. The children of persons who have performed the *mifanangena* stand in the same relation to each other as the children of actual brothers, sisters, or brother and sister, but, as a control on marriage, this relationship is usually allowed to lapse in the second or third generation.

582 The Ikongo forbid marriage between parent and child, brother and sister, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, and between the children of two brothers, two sisters or brother and sister. These prohibitions are more extensive than is usually the case in Madagascar and

suggest the Betsileo system, in which marriage is prohibited between 582
persons having a common ancestor within four generations on either side. The Ikongo do not carry their restrictions as far as the Betsileo and they have a ceremony for lifting the ban on the more remote degrees, but I could not learn which ones.

The Menabe system is quite different. Marriage is prohibited between parent and child, brother and sister, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, and between the children of a brother and sister who have married a sister and brother. The last are considered as closely related as children of a single couple. Marriage between the descendants of two sisters, tracing in the female line, is also absolutely prohibited, no matter how remote their actual relationship. The ban on the foregoing marriages cannot be lifted. In all but the Zafindiamanana gens it is forbidden for a man to marry the daughter of his first cousin. This is considered almost equivalent to a marriage between father and daughter. However, the ban can be lifted by a ceremony and such marriages are not unknown. A woman does not seem to be forbidden to marry the son of a first cousin, but such a union would be considered unnatural and informants knew of no instance. The children of two brothers may marry, but there is some feeling against it. The ban-lifting ceremony is often performed as a precaution, although it is not absolutely necessary.

The children of a brother and sister, i.e. cross cousins, are expected to marry, although they are not forced to do so. If they do not, their children are still more strongly urged to marry and this, cross cousins in the second generation, is considered the ideal match. Cross-cousin marriage seems to be most developed among the Zafindiamanana. Here the cross cousins address each other as *Anjaravady* ("potential spouse"). If they fail to marry, the same reciprocal term is used by their children. It is also used by a man and his cross cousin's daughter, whom he is expected to marry. This is the only case in which marriage across generation lines is approved. The other Tanala have no corresponding term.

The Tanala say that cross-cousin marriage is pleasing to the ancestors, who like to see their descendants closely knit together, and that it helps to keep property within the related group. The property aspect was always stressed and I believe that this is the main reason.

THE LEVIRATE

The Tanala Ikongo regularly practice the levirate in the case of 587
widows with children. It is considered desirable because the children

587 are thus assured of a good stepfather and will continue to live with their real father's lineage. However, it is not compulsory and the first husband's family cannot prevent the widow from marrying an outsider. Childless widows return to their own families and marry whom they please, a new bride price being paid for them. The first husband's family has no claim on this.

The Menabe rarely practice the levirate. It was explained that a man who married his brother's widow would be suspected of having poisoned him to obtain her. However, such marriages are not prohibited and I heard of one or two instances.

Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is permitted by all the Tanala. The ceremony, bride price, etc., are exactly the same as for an outsider and such marriages are neither encouraged nor discouraged.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BRIDE PRICE

583 Throughout Madagascar it is the payment of a bride price which distinguishes a legal marriage from concubinage. Without it, no amount of ceremony can make a union regular. The price is paid by the husband or his father to the bride's parents and must be paid in full before she is taken to the husband's house. The size of the price varies with the tribe, being highest among the cattle people of the south and west. It is usually fixed by custom and I never heard of two families haggling over it. Among the Tanala Menabe the bride price is so small as to be almost negligible.

The giving of the bride price in no sense constitutes a purchase of the woman herself. She retains full membership in her own gens and lineage and can return to them at any time. Among the Tanala the husband cannot claim a refund even if she deserts him during the betrothal period preceding the final marriage. Among the cattle tribes the husband can demand a refund, but everyone will despise him for doing so. In no case will the wife be returned by her family against her will.

The real significance of the bride price is that, through it, the husband acquires all rights in a woman's potential children. The Malagasy are quite clear on this and it is verified by many bits of native custom and law. Thus the Ikongo say that children formerly belonged to the mother because no bride price was paid. Since they have adopted the custom of paying the bride price, the children belong to the father. The father's exclusive right to the children in a divorce is explained on the same basis. A man who marries a

woman with an illegitimate child is expected to give the regular bride 583
price and to pay a small sum for the child as well, if he wants it.
If he does not, it belongs to the mother's family and is reared by them.

The most extreme example of this idea of the purchase of potential
children is found among the Vezo Sakalava, a tribe on the southwest
coast. Here there is no refund of the bride price in case of divorce,
but the consent of the first husband is necessary for a remarriage.
He will bargain with the new husband as to how many children born [587]
of the new union will be given to him and is entitled to demand from
one to three. Such children are considered the first husband's legal
heirs, without formality of adoption. Informants said specifically
that such children were to reimburse him for the loss of the bride price.

INTER-CLASS MARRIAGE AND INHERITANCE OF RANK

Slavery has been abolished among the Tanala and class distinc- 582
tions are rapidly breaking down, so that the statements made here 567
refer to past conditions. The native attitude toward inter-class
marriages was much like the European one, the higher classes dis-
approving and the lower approving. Marriages between noble and
common and between common and *ndevo* were fairly common, but
marriages between noble and *ndevo* were almost unknown. Noble
men frequently had *ndevo* concubines. If the mother was a slave,
the father would free both her and their child, but would not make
her a legal wife. The child's status was doubtful. He would not be
considered *ndevo*, but the nobles would rarely acknowledge him as a
full member of their class and gens. Affairs between noble women [684]
and *ndevo* men were vigorously opposed by the nobles and the *ndevo*
lover would be sold out of the village or even killed. Informants
knew of no offspring from such unions.

Marriages between nobles and commoners were not uncommon. The ceremonies were the same as for marriages within either class. Among the Ikongo, children of such unions took the father's rank and gens. Among the Menabe they took those of the lower parent

Marriages between commoners and free *ndevo* seem to have been rather frequent. If the *ndevo* had been born free and had a family in the village, the ordinary marriage ceremony was performed. The children took the rank and gens of the father. Such unions were rather looked down upon and were rarely contracted by any but the poorer commoners.

Matings between commoners and slaves seem to have been regarded more favorably. It must be remembered that many of these

582 were Tanala prisoners of war whose antecedents were well known.
567 If the slave came of a good family, the fact that he or she was a slave carried little social stigma and the children would be accepted as equals by their relatives.

In unions of commoners and slaves there was no marriage ceremony. [585] If a common man took a slave woman as a concubine, her status was not changed unless a child was born to them. After this, the father was in honor bound to buy her and their child from her owner. He would usually free both of them by calling together his family and pronouncing a curse on anyone who thenceforth considered them as slaves. If he did this, the child inherited his gens and rank. If he failed to do it the child and mother remained slaves and might be sold by his heirs after his death.

If a woman who had been captured and enslaved bore a child to her master, her relatives might remove her slave status by paying a partial ransom. This was called *lanjalanganana* ("to replace carrying the bamboo") in reference to the long bamboo bottles used by slave women for carrying water. It was usually about half the [435] woman's market value as a slave, perhaps four to six head of cattle. The payment of this ransom not only freed the woman and her offspring, but gave her an honorable position in the household equal to that of any of the regularly married wives.

Marriages between common women and slave men were less frequent, but by no means unknown. [587] Middle-aged widows who wished to be only wives frequently took slave husbands. The first step was to buy the man, if he belonged to someone else. The woman then made a feast, killed an ox and distributed the meat to her relatives, and announced that this man was henceforth free and her husband. The wife had a whip hand in such unions. The husband, even though officially free, could not return to his own people. [586] Moreover, if he behaved badly or paid attention to other women, his wife could reduce him to slavery again and even sell him.

567 Children of common women and slave men took the gens and rank of the mother. However, if the father was a Tanala and had been a man of good family, or a noble, before his enslavement, the children might go back to his people when they were grown and could legitimately claim his gens and rank.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 The Tanala system of relationship terms is comparatively simple. It was impossible to get an authoritative list of the terms used by

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the Ikongo, but informants knew of no differences between these and the terms used by the Menabe. Among the Menabe, lists were obtained for the Zafindiamanana tribe, as characteristic of the Teloarivo Varitra, and from the Zafindriantrova gens, as characteristic of the Teloarivo Atsimo. The terms agree in most cases, but where there are differences the Varitra terms are marked V and the Atsimo terms A.

Vady, "Spouse." Used as a reciprocal term of address by husband and wife, and also for reference. In the V group it is applied by the husband to the wife and all her sisters and by the wife to the husband and all his brothers.

Tompontranoko, "Master of my house." Term used in the A group by the husband for the wife's sisters and by the wife for the husband's brothers. It is a polite equivalent for *vady*, used for greater exactness.

Vady Lahy, "Male spouse." Term used in both groups by the husband for his wife's brothers and his sisters' husbands and by the wife for the husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. The wife uses it for her husband's sisters because they are *vadys* on the male side.

Zanakay, "Child." *Zanakay Lahy* (V) or *Dahy* (A) for boys and *Zanakay Viavy* for girls. Term applied by parents to children and, ordinarily, by uncles and aunts to nieces and nephews.

Zanaka Anabavy, "Child of my sister." Used by both sexes in referring to sisters' children or as term of address, for precision.

Zanadrahalahy, "Child of my brother." Used by both sexes in referring to brothers' children or as a term of address, for precision.

Baba, "Father." Used as term of address by actual children.

Bebe (an abbreviation of *Baba Be*, "great father"), "Grandfather." Used as a term of address for grandfather or great-grandfather and for all male relatives in their generations.

Vavy, "Grandmother." Used for grandmother or great-grandmother and for all female relatives in their generations.

Zafy, "Grandchild." Used as a term of address by grandparents or great-grandparents and all persons in their generations.

Talanolo (V) or *Zokonnanako* (A), "Firstborn." Used by parents in speaking of their eldest child of either sex, but not as a term of address.

Zoko Be (A) or *Zoky* (V). Term used by other children in addressing or referring to the eldest brother or sister.

Zandry (V). Term of address by children to youngest brother or sister.

Faranolo (A) or (V). *Faralahy* for boy or *Faravavy* for girl. Term for youngest child used by parents or other children. The sense is "last born."

Rahalahy, "Brother." Used by a man for real brothers, male first and second cousins and wife's sisters' husbands.

Anakavy (V) or *Anabavy* (A), "Sister." Used by a man for real sisters, female first and second cousins and wife's brothers' wives.

Analahy (V) or *Anadahy* (A), "Brother." Used by women for real brothers, male first and second cousins and husband's sisters' husbands.

Rahavavy, "Sister." Used by women for real sisters and female cousins and sometimes for husband's brothers' wives.

The brother and sister terms will be used by practically all the people in a village who are of the same generation although properly applicable only to the degrees of relationship given.

Anjaravady, "Potential spouse." Reciprocal term used in the V group by the children or grandchildren of a brother and sister, if of opposite sex, and by a man and the daughter of his cross cousin. In the A group such persons call each other by the usual brother and sister terms.

Rahalahiandray (V) or *Rahalahiandraiko* (A), "Father's brother." Used by children of both sexes.

Anabavaniabako (V) or *Anabavanbaba* (A), "Father's sister." Used by children of both sexes.

Analahiandreny (V) or *Anadahiandreny* (A), "Mother's brother." Used by children of both sexes.

Rahavaviandreny, "Mother's sister." Used by children of both sexes.

VII. GOVERNMENT

In describing Tanala government it is necessary to treat the 631
Menabe and Ikongo divisions separately. Until about one hundred
years ago the Menabe had no political or governmental unit larger
than the gens. Later, with the aid of the Imerina empire, the
Zafiakotry gens succeeded in bringing several of the other gentes
under its domination and a kingdom was established. This kingdom
tried to copy the organization of the Imerina kingdom, but it never
became well integrated or thoroughly organized. The Ikongo, on
the other hand, had kingdoms of long standing and had developed
a stable system of government with officials of varying rank.

THE MENABE

Among the Menabe each village was practically autonomous. 618
The authority of the chief of the gens was recognized, but he never 643
interfered in village affairs and was only appealed to in disputes
between villages or in serious criminal cases. Each village had a 622
chief, the *Andriambavety*, who was elected informally and could be
deposed at will. There were no ceremonies of investiture and he had
no special insignia. He was considered simply the first among equals.
To be eligible for the office a man had to be personally popular, rich,
generous, a good diplomat, a good warrior and a good orator. The
Andriambavety had no authority over the persons or property of the
other villagers. His duties were to advise and help them, to act as
arbitrator in minor disputes, if brought to him voluntarily, to organize
and coordinate communal activities, seeing that labor and expense
were equitably divided, and to act as representative for his village
in its dealings with other villages or with the chief of the gens. The
office carried no salary or perquisites, beyond personal exemption
from labor. Under French control the office of *Andriambavety* has [177]
been retained and its powers and its responsibilities considerably
increased. He must provide the quotas of men demanded by the
government for forced labor and cannot be deposed by the village
without government consent. Bribes to the *Andriambavety* are now
common.

The affairs of the village were controlled by a group of important 623
men, comparable to the "key men" of American communities. The
position was unofficial and the natives seem to have had no generic
term for such leaders. They are now referred to by the French word

623 *Notables.* The *Notables* were heads of lineages or large families, rich men, famous warriors, etc. They were usually middle aged or old, but age in itself brought little prestige and no authority.

665 Practically every village was divided into two or more political factions, which would oppose each other on principle. There was a great deal of petty politics and scheming for control. The *Andriambavety* was always allied with some faction and would favor it when possible. Membership in factions seems to have always followed lineage lines and when the disputes became too acute the lineages making up the defeated faction might secede in a body and found a new village.

Matters of general policy, internal disputes and minor criminal
692 cases were settled by the *Fokonolona* ("council"). Some informants
623 said that membership in the *Fokonolona* was limited to *Notables*, others that it included the entire adult male population. The distinction is not an important one, for the meetings were always public and all villagers, including women, had the right to speak.

623 The proceedings of the *Fokonolona* were quite informal. The *Andriambavety* presided, but there were no rules of order, no minutes of previous meetings, and no proceedings for opening or closing the session. The meetings were called *kabary*, which is an exact equivalent of the term "palaver" as used on the west coast of Africa. It is a generic term for meetings, discussions, speeches, etc. The Malagasy love to talk and even small matters were made an excuse for hours of *kabary*, with a great flow of oratory. There was no voting nor, as far as I could learn, any other formal method of coming to a decision. The matter was threshed out until it was felt that the whole group was in agreement. The *Andriambavety* might formally announce the decision, but even this was often thought unnecessary. In case of a deadlock, the meeting was adjourned and the *Notables* went into private caucus, reconvening when they had reached a compromise. In all matters the majority ruled, but it had to be a large majority.

618 The gens as a whole had a chief, called the *Anakandriana*, who was chosen by an assembly of the *Andriambavety* and *Notables* from all the villages. Theoretically, he was chosen on the same personal basis as the *Andriambavety* and might be picked from any village or lineage. Actually, favor was shown to the lineages which were in most direct line of descent from the gens ancestor, i.e., traced from him through eldest sons, and which lived in the original village of the gens. There also seems to have been a tendency for the office

to become hereditary, the ablest of a deceased chief's sons being 618
chosen to succeed him. The *Anakandriana* usually held office for life, but could be deposed for misconduct.

The *Anakandriana* was in no sense a king and his establishment 618
differed little from that of other well to do natives. He seems to have 693
had no special insignia of office and I could learn of no taboos governing his conduct or that of the other members of the gens in dealing with him. No taxes were paid to him. In some gentes he received a part of fines levied on criminals, but this was not universal. His duties were to act as arbitrator in disputes between villages and as a court of last appeal in serious criminal cases, especially those involving sentence of death.

After the Zafiakotry conquered the neighboring gentes their 643
Anakandriana was recognized as a king, *Mpanzaka*. At first he seems to have been chosen by the gens alone, like any other *Anakandriana*. Later he was chosen by the *Anakandriana* of all the gentes, the only prerequisite for office being that he must belong to the Zafiakotry gens. Still later the royal power was strengthened and it became possible for the king to nominate his successor. The king Rainilevola had children by eight of his wives and before his death indicated the succession for twelve places. Lemangivy, a son, was designated to succeed him, then Iovana, a daughter, then Raindriamanava, a son, and after him nine other sons. The mother of Raindriamanava was of *ndevo* caste, but his right to the succession was never questioned. During the reign of Queen Iovana he was the most influential man in the kingdom. He never became king because the French abolished the office.

I was unable to get any coherent account of the exact powers and functions of the Menabe kings, or of their regalia, or of the ceremonies performed when they were inducted into office. No two informants were in agreement on these points and apparently they had never become formalized. The kingdom was short lived and constantly subject to Imerina influences.

THE IKONGO

The political organization of the Ikongo cannot be understood 174
without some knowledge of their history. In the earliest period their 563
territory was occupied by many politically independent gentes which were probably similar to those of the Menabe in their organization and government. Later at least two gentes of foreign origin forced their way into the region, partly displacing the aborigines. At first

174 the invaders lived in compact gentile groups, but in time certain
563 families or lineages left the gens territory and settled among the aborigines, seizing control. These small ruling groups kept touch with their parent gens for a time and relied on it for support, but they intermarried with their subjects and fused with them racially and culturally. Their descendants in the male line came to constitute a noble caste with representatives in all the groups. Although these nobles claimed a common origin and were jealous of their social privileges they no longer considered themselves as a political unit. Although they would assist each other if the commoners rose against them, they frequently fought among themselves, leading their followers of aboriginal stock against each other. Even in such wars they still recognized the blood bond to the extent that it was taboo for a commoner to kill the enemy king, although a noble would do so without hesitation (see Warfare).

Apparently there were many Ikongo villages which did not include
621 lineages of *hova* ("noble") caste. Even when they were present their influence was not preponderant in local affairs. The village government
[622] was essentially the same as the Menabe. There was an elected chief, usually not a noble, who acted as executive, and a *Fokonolona* ("council"). Each gens had a chief called the *Mpanzaka* who was
618 elected from the members of the *hova* caste. Prerequisites for the
565 office were the same as for the Menabe *Anakandriana.* The *Mpanzaka* was chosen by the village chiefs and *Notables* of the entire gens, irrespective of caste, and could be deposed at will. Associated with him were one or more officials called *Anakandriana,* who were elected on the same basis and in the same way as the *Mpanzaka,* but must be of *vahoaka* ("common") caste. Theoretically the *Anakandriana* acted as counselors and executives, but actually they often seem to have had as much power as the *Mpanzaka,* who was unable to remove them from office. The whole arrangement strongly suggested a dual chieftainship.

Kingdoms arose, as among the Menabe, through one gens
631 acquiring domination over others. The king, also called *Mpanzaka,*
[643] was chosen from among the *hova* of the dominant group. Like
618 the gens chiefs, he was assisted by elected *Anakandriana* whom he could not dismiss. These *Anakandriana* might be chosen from any
646 gens within the kingdom, but were always of *vahoaka* caste. Usually all gentes were represented among them and they formed a sort of permanent council with a sharp check on the conduct of the *Mpanzaka.* They exercised executive functions and continued in office

from reign to reign. The most influential of the royal *Anakandriana* 646
were called the *Anakandriambe.*

ELECTION OF THE KING

The following account of the election and investiture of an Ikongo 643
king is quoted from the manuscript of Sadaro Antoine: "When a
king had died the *Anakandriambe* summoned all the *Anakandriana*
and *Notables* of the two castes in the kingdom to choose a new king.
The *hovalahy* [nobles] assembled in one house and the *vahoaka* in
another. The commoners deliberated as to who should be king and
when they had decided went to the house where the nobles were
assembled and designated for the office the one they liked best. This
man was separated from his comrades and taken to a house in the
corner of the village. There he stayed, rarely going out, until he
was invested with office. A few days after the election the whole
population constructed a large house, the *trano be*, or *lapa*, to be
the royal residence.

"On a fortunate day selected by an *ombiasy*, everyone went to 643
the village of the new *Mpanzaka* to celebrate his solemn entry into 527
the *lapa*. About noon all the *Notables* entered the house where the
future king was. The *Anakandriambe* placed the *satro mena* [a red
hat with a tassel] on his head, dressed him in an *akanjo jaky* [a dark
red garment like a long shirt or smock], a *lamba mena* [shoulder
blanket of red silk], and *samboritra lamba mena* [shawl of red silk].
They placed a silver necklace on his neck and a silver bracelet on his
right wrist, and gave him a *tehim-bolofotsy* [long ebony staff encrusted
with tin or silver] to carry. When everything was ready the king
seated himself on his *filanzana* [carrying chair] which was usually
the house door, and the *vahoaka* carried him to the royal house.
They formed a procession with the chief *Anakandriambe* first, then
the king's wife, on foot, then the king, followed by his escort of
Notables, etc., and then the whole population, singing. They sounded
conch shell trumpets and fired guns. The young people sang and
danced to the *sodina* [flute] and *draitra* [a variety of large drum].
A public fête was organized in the village. Before entering the royal 643
dwelling the king, followed by the population, walked around the 527
house three times. Each time he arrived opposite the east side of 787
the house he halted and fired a shot in the air. The first shot was
in honor of the king, the second in honor of the *Anakandriana*, and
the third in honor of the people as a whole. If the first shot failed
to go off, it was a bad sign for the king. He would have a misfortune

643 or would not reign long. The *ombiasy* might change his destiny
527 by bathing him with water containing magical materials, but he
787 was sometimes dismissed then and there and another king
chosen.

643 "The king entered the house by the big door on the east, taking
527 care to place his left foot on the door sill first. He seated himself
782 on the eastern side of the house on a clean mat, his counselors on the right and his wife on the left. An ox was tied to the *fatora* with its head east. [The *fatora* was a pointed post about six feet high, usually made of *teza* wood. It was set up east of the royal house to commemorate the ancestors.] The *Anakandriana* left the house. They threw water on the roof of the house and on the ox three times, while the chief *Anakandriambe* said: 'Oh *Zanahary* of the east, the south, the north and the west, come assist at this ceremony. We have chosen one to direct us, to counsel us and to protect us. We offer you an ox *lava trafo* [lit. with a long hump, i.e., fat]. We ask your protection that our new king may live and reign long, that we may be protected from all dangers, that the army of the Imerina may not come to our region, that the wild pigs and locusts may not injure our plantations, that we may be exempt from all sickness, that our women may have many children and that our wealth may be increased.' After making this invocation the *Anakandriambe* entered the house and the young men of *hova* caste killed the ox and cut up the meat. Rice and pieces of the meat were cooked and placed on a leaf of the Traveler's Palm or a clean china plate. This was then put on a handsome mat before the east door of the house. Everyone then uncovered his head and stood silent. The *Anakandriambe* advanced and addressed the *razana* [ancestral spirits]. He invited all the ancestors of the king to take part in the repast. He explained why they had been called, then asked their protection, good fortune and prosperity. When the prayer was finished a great quantity of rice and meat was cooked and the king offered *toaka* [sugar cane rum] to the *Anakandriana*, the singers and dancers. There was a great feast. There was a great uproar in the royal house, ending in shouts of laughter. The next day the king and his family gave two or three cattle to the people. These were killed [not sacrificed] and the meat distributed to everyone. The people then returned home talking of the incidents of the ceremony."

643 There seems to have been no formal procedure for deposing an undesirable king and it was extremely rare in practice. Kings were selected with great care and were watched and admonished by the

Anakandriana. I was told that a deposed king would usually be killed to prevent later complications. 643

ROYAL POWERS AND FUNCTIONS

The king was supposed to stand in the same relation to his subjects as the father of a family to its members. In theory he had absolute power over their persons and property, but it was a power which he never dared to exercise arbitrarily. The Tanala kings never developed the elaborate palace organization which, in some other tribes, interposed a barrier between ruler and subject and made oppression safe and easy. A king who sold a subject into slavery or seized the property of even the poorest commoner would arouse a storm of protest. The whole community would feel that its rights were in danger and the offender was liable to be deposed or murdered. Bad kings occasionally mulcted rich subjects on trumped-up charges, but even in this they had to move with caution. In general the rule was benevolent and the duties attached to the royal office balanced its advantages. 643 661

A king was expected to aid and counsel his subjects, maintain order throughout the realm, lead his people in war, and above all administer justice. Stinginess was a severe reproach and in bad seasons the king was expected to help his subjects to the limits of his property. Any subject could apply to him for advice and he was also expected to hold *kabary* ("palavers") from time to time and counsel his people in formal fashion. One *kabary* was always held in the spring, before planting began, at which the king addressed his subjects and encouraged them to plant plenty of crops and cultivate them well. At another *kabary* he advised the gathering of forest products. He was also expected to protect and stimulate trade, especially with Europeans. 643

The maintenance of order was in the hands of the *Anakandriana* of the various gentes. Each gens was expected to keep down lawlessness and banditry within its territory and to surrender to the king any of its members who had been guilty of offenses against members of other gentes or the subjects of another king. Each *Anakandriana* was personally responsible to the king for the behavior of his followers and might, in extreme cases, be fined, although apparently he could not be deposed without the consent of his own people. 627 [618] [692]

The activities of the king as war leader have been described in the section on Warfare.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

671 The Ikongo had a well-developed legal system with a concept of law quite similar to our own. Most of the laws received their sanction from immemorial usage, but new ones could be enacted to meet emergencies. A new law would be formulated by the *Mpanzaka* in council with the *Anakandriana* and publicly announced by him at a special *kabary*. There seems to have been no machinery for the repeal of laws. Unpopular or antiquated ones would simply be allowed to lapse. The more important regulations were known to the entire community, but there were certain individuals who were recognized as especially conversant with the law and from whom litigants would seek advice. In trials, previous decisions were often cited, but I could not discover how binding such precedents were.

The distinction between civil and criminal cases was clearly 673 recognized. The former consisted of disputes over property. Ap- 626 parently it was impossible to sue for damages. Criminal actions were brought for theft, murder and witchcraft. Incest, in spite of the very strong feeling against it, was not technically a crime, and neither was mayhem. Actually, deliberate murder and mayhem were so rare that informants were uncertain as to the exact procedure. Fights between sober adults were considered disgraceful to both parties and most of the natives had never witnessed one. If one person injured another by accident, or while drunk, the matter was settled informally by an apology and gift to the injured party.

Minor civil cases were settled by the *Fokonolona* with the village 692 chief presiding. Criminal cases and the more important civil ones, 695 especially those involving persons from different villages, were tried before the *Anakandriana* of the gens with a number of *Notables* in attendance. All trials were public. The *Mpanzaka* ("chief") of the tribe might attend, but it was always the *Anakandriana* who gave the verdict, after consultation with the *Notables*. In cases involving persons of different gentes, the litigants would agree to accept the *Anakandriana* of one or the other gens as judge, or, if the matter was very important, refer the case to the *Anakandriambe* ("chief [64[illegible]] counselor to the king"). If the persons involved belonged to different kingdoms, the plaintiff could appeal to either king to act as judge, but that king's decision had to be generally recognized as just and impartial. If it was not, the loser would refuse to abide by it and his own king would support him, causing war between the kingdoms.

695 In civil cases it was not unusual for the litigants to be represented by counsel. Both parties were allowed to state their case and to call

witnesses. These were not put on oath, but could be informally 695
cross-examined by anyone present. The spectators took part in
the trial and their attitude had considerable influence on the *Anakan-*
driana's decision, which was final. I was unable to learn how the
awards of the court were enforced. There seems to have been no [626]
special machinery for this, the pressure of public opinion being
sufficient.

Criminal cases dealt with theft, very rarely murder, and witch- [681]
craft. Theft was a very serious offense and the thief, if caught in 685
the act, might be killed out of hand. Suspects were tried by the 695
village chief and *Fokonolona*. They were not allowed representation
by counsel and the proceedings seem to have been less formal and
more heated than in civil cases. Witnesses were called when possible,
but a thief might be convicted on circumstantial evidence alone.
If found guilty he was forced to make full restitution and would
usually be badly mauled by the spectators and jeered at for a long
time afterward. If accused of a second or third offense, the thief
would be sent to the *Anakandriana* of the gens for judgment. This
official might fine him to the extent of his property, or have him
beaten, or both, but apparently he could not order him sold into
slavery, or officially sentence him to death. However, if the culprit
died as a result of the beating no one was held responsible. A
criminal might appeal from the judgment of the *Anakandriana* to
that of the king, but this was not encouraged. An old offender who
did so was likely to be brought in dead, with the explanation that
he had tried to escape from his guards on the way. If he reached
the king, the case was laid before the *Anakandriambe*, who made a
thorough investigation and then submitted it to the king with a
recommendation. The king's judgment was final, and if the accused
appeared displeased he was fined an ox for contempt of court.
This fine went to the king, as did any other fine levied by him. In
most places only the king had the right to pronounce sentence of
death.

Murder was so rare that I could learn nothing of the procedure 682
except that the murderer would probably be sent to the king, who
would sentence him to death.

Although the Ikongo lacked the exaggerated fear of witchcraft 683
which is present in many African tribes, they believed that there were 694
certain persons, called *mpamosavy*, who caused illness and death by
magical means. This was the most serious of all offenses, being con-
sidered the equivalent of wholesale murder. An *mpamosavy* always

683 694 had to be denounced to the authorities by some individual who thereby assumed responsibility. In order that such charges should not be brought casually or without good cause, the accuser was fined a large, fat ox if the accused established his innocence. This ox was killed and its meat distributed, most of it going to the accused as indemnity.

695 Suspected *mpamosavy*, unless their guilt was unquestionable, were subjected to some form of *tangena*, i.e., trial by ordeal. Three forms of this were in use. Two of them, which were not fatal, were also employed for the detection of thieves, although only when the evidence seemed evenly balanced and ordinary procedure had failed.

TRIAL BY ORDEAL

Sadaro Antoine describes the *tangena* as follows: "The commonest and worst form is called *milela-by*. One heats a flat piece of iron, usually a spade, red hot. The *Anakandriana* examines the tongue of the accused and searches him to make sure he has no charms concealed on his person. He then invokes the *Zanahary* and all the ancestors of the chief, asking them to assist at the ceremony. He asks them to punish the accused severely if he is guilty and to prevent his injury if he is innocent. The *Anakandriana* then picks the iron out of the fire with a pair of tongs and holds it before the victim at a moderate height. The latter opens his mouth and licks it once. After this he is placed in a house and closely guarded. The next day he is brought out and his tongue examined. If there are buttons or colored patches he is guilty, and the chief condemns him to death or to a fine according to the gravity of his offense.

"*Mangaron-drano.*—Water was boiled in a large pot and a stone fastened to a cord, like a plumb-line. The stone was dropped vertically into the pot, but was not submerged. The cord was attached to a stick which rested across the mouth of the pot so that the stone hung about 5 mm above the water. The suspect's hand was washed and examined to see whether he had any scars on it, also whether it had been rubbed with medicine. After the *Anakandriana* had made the usual invocation, the accused approached the pot and seized the stone from below, plunging his hand into the boiling water. He then plunged his hand into cold water. The hand was bandaged and the accused shut up in a guarded house. The next morning all assembled to see his condition. If there were blisters on the hand he was guilty. If accused of sorcery he was killed on the spot, or, if the king was merciful, he was expelled and all his goods seized. 695

"*Milano-rano.*—The Tanala firmly believe that certain crocodiles are endowed with a faculty which makes it possible for them to render justice. They are employed to judge an affair which seems dark. The ceremony is held on the bank of a river inhabited by ferocious crocodiles. Everyone assembles there and keeps silence so as not to frighten the animals. The *Anakandriana* places an open *tandra* [pair of blacksmith's tongs] on the edge of the river and strikes the water three times. He invokes the *Zanahary* and the ancestors, asking that the accused be devoured if guilty and allowed to pass safely if innocent. When he has finished the accused advances, steps over the *tandra* and plunges into the river. He swims to the other bank and back. If he is guilty, the crocodiles take him, if innocent he passes safely. When he gets back all raise a cry of *Vita! Vita!* [Finished!] and the young people plunge into the river to receive him. After the ceremony he returns to his village and his accuser kills an ox to indemnify him."

Although all these ordeals appear severe to a European the natives seem to have submitted to them without much trepidation. There were a fair number of acquittals. An old Menabe informant who had himself undergone the ordeal of the hot spade told me that he had been helped by an *ombiasy*, who rubbed his tongue with an evil tasting root. This produced profuse saliva and as he barely touched his tongue to the iron he was unharmed.

A guilty *mpamosavy* was practically always killed and his goods appropriated by the king. There was no official executioner, the bystanders falling upon the man and spearing him to death. Special offenders were sometimes burned alive. 696

MENABE LEGAL SYSTEM

The legal system of the Menabe was less developed than that of the Ikongo, due to the absence of large political groupings. Nearly all their laws had been handed down from such ancient times that their origin had been forgotten. New laws could be enacted by the *Notables* and chief of the gens, but seem rarely to have been made. Court procedure was less formal and in civil cases the litigants were not represented by counsel, although they would seek advice from persons skilled in the law before coming into court. Evidence was taken as among the Ikongo. In criminal cases there was still less formality, the *Fokonolona* as a whole deciding whether the accused 671 695

695 was guilty. Fines were rarely levied, thieves being punished by a severe beating and repeated offenses by formal disownment and expulsion from the village. Trial by ordeal was less common than among the Ikongo and the ordeal was administered by an *ombiasy*, not by the village chief. It was used in doubtful cases of theft, but mainly for the detection of *mpamosavy*. The hot spade ordeal was used, also another in which the village *ombiasy* took a chicken belonging to the accused and administered medicine to it, saying: "If so-and-so has committed this crime, die. If he has not, live." If the person was guilty the chicken would die. Guilty *mpamosavy* were killed on the spot. Although the Menabe had much less fear of *mpamosavy* than the Ikongo, one gens, the Zafindiamanana, subjected the whole adult population to an ordeal when the presence of one was suspected. An ox was killed and the *ombiasy* took the liver, cut it into small pieces, and mixed it with water and earth from the village tomb, placing the whole on a spade. While he mixed the ingredients he prayed: "*Zanahary* and *Fahasivy* [ancestral shades], if anyone eating this is an *mpamosavy*, let him die." Everyone then came forward and ate a piece of the liver and the guilty person would die within twenty-four hours. Failure to eat was considered a confession of guilt. Informants from this gens said that they used no other ordeals.

695 177 In general the ideas of formal legal procedure and of trial by ordeal seem to have been least developed among those gentes which had least contact with the more advanced tribes of the coast and plateau. It seems probable that the whole legal complex, at least among the Menabe, was due to outside influence and that originally all cases were settled informally by the village council.

VIII. RELIGION

The outstanding feature of Tanala religion is its extreme practicality. 771 All its energies are directed toward acquiring benefits or averting misfortunes. There is no place in it for the mystic, the philosopher or the theologian. Its practices are stereotyped, with minute attention to detail, but most of its beliefs are vague and imperfectly formulated. In the absence of any organized religious authority most of them have remained matters of personal opinion and I found a wide divergence in all but a few main points among even the priests and medicine-men. To make this account intelligible, it has been necessary to introduce a somewhat greater systematization than exists in the native mind.

BELIEFS

COSMOLOGY

The Tanala believe the earth to be flat, with the sky fitting down 772 over it like a bell glass. There is a wide expanse of sea in which are two islands, Madagascar and another, vaguely known as *Andafy* ("over there"). Some thought *Andafy* was the same as the island of Reunion, of which they had heard. All foreigners, irrespective of race or color, are supposed to come from this other island.

Above the sky, which is thought of as a solid, material shell, there is another world. This is inhabited by the gods and possibly by the souls of the dead. The natives have no beliefs as to its appearance or nature and seem to have no name for it. Below the earth there is a third world, called *Tsivalanorona.* This is a rich and fertile country exactly like the world we live in. Informants were not sure whether the geographic features of our world were reproduced there point for point, but thought not. *Tsivalanorona* is connected with our world by very deep lakes and rivers, and persons who dive deep enough may catch a glimpse of it. It is inhabited by a race called *tsivalamo onga,* who are like men in all respects except that their noses are set crosswise on their faces. They live in villages, raise rice, etc., like ordinary mortals. The Tanala have no legends of human beings having visited it and say the souls of the dead do not go there.

The belief in superimposed worlds seems to be universal among the more primitive pagan tribes of Madagascar, as does the belief that the entrance to the lower world is through lakes and rivers.

772 The plateau tribes have legends of human women being carried off to the under world. If they steadfastly refused to eat, the people there would take pity on them and send them back, but if they ate they could not return.

775 It is interesting to conjecture whether the under world was ever considered the abode of the dead. No such belief is held by any of the groups with whom I worked, but certain practices seem to suggest it. There is an ancient Tanala belief that the soul is drawn back after death to the place where its afterbirth was buried. On the southeast coast each tribe has a sacred river. Unless the umbilical cord of an individual has been thrown into this river, he is not considered a member of the gens, no matter what his descent, and he is debarred from burial in the common tomb. This, in turn, debars his soul from joining those of the ancestors. The tomb is built beside the sacred river when possible and all important ancestral sacrifices are performed on its banks. In some cases part of the blood of the sacrifice must be thrown into the water. There is also a belief in malevolent human spirits who live in the water and are responsible for sudden drownings. Although there is no proof, it seems highly probable that it was once believed that the dead went to the under world through the rivers, returning by the same route to receive the sacrifices.

821 Tanala ideas in regard to the heavenly bodies are vague. The sun *masoandro* ("day's eye") is said to be a ball of fire, but there is no explanation of its motion. At sunset it descends through a hole in the western end of our world and traverses the sky of the under world during our night, rising again through a hole in the east. One account of the Tanala says that they believe that the sun travels back over our sky during the night, but all informants whom I asked considered this ridiculous and it certainly is not the present belief.

The moon, *ambolona*, is a ball of some shining substance, which moves across the heavens of the middle and under worlds on the same track as the sun. None of my informants had ever heard a myth explaining its changes, although its phases were named. The new moon is *velombolona*, first quarter *rimbamborona*, full moon *vorifotsy*, and dark of the moon *matinvolona*. There seems to be no name for the last quarter.

The stars are said to be "things fastened to the sky." Apparently only three groupings of stars are recognized: *Efidanitsa*, the Milky Way, *Kiotokely mididango* (lit. "children who fight for a rice mortar"),

the Pleiades, and *Telonrefy*, three very bright stars in a line, at 821
equal intervals. I could not identify the last and it seems to be applied to more than one grouping. Only one star is named, *Fanjire*, the planet Venus.

The sun and moon were considered as deities or powers and were [776]
often included with the other *Zanahary* in invocations. All inform- 773
ants insisted that they knew no creation myth and I believe that their ignorance was genuine. I found a similar lack among their neighbors the Betsileo and can only conclude that, if such myths ever existed, they have now been completely forgotten.

CONTROL OF HUMAN AFFAIRS

The core of Tanala religion is the belief that human affairs are 771
subject to a dual control, that of Beings and that of Fate. The two are of nearly equal importance and both good and evil may derive from either. The Beings interfere capriciously and can be influenced by prayer and sacrifice. Fate, on the other hand, is impersonal and mechanistic. It cannot be influenced by prayer or sacrifice, but its workings can be forecast and its direction changed by magical means. This basic dualism is reflected in a clear cut distinction between the activities of the priest and those of the *ombiasy* ("medicine-man"). The former deals only with the Beings, especially the ancestral spirits, while the latter specializes in the detection and control of Fate and has little to do with the Beings.

The interrelation between the Beings and Fate has never been 776
clearly formulated by the natives. Priests and *ombiasy* whom I interrogated agreed that both derived their powers from the same source, *Zanahary*. It was *Zanahary* or the *Zanahary* (plural) who fixed the destiny of the individual at birth. Whether the ancestral spirits had any hand in shaping it was uncertain, but the majority thought not. In changing destiny *Zanahary* was appealed to, but in a formal fashion, the real efficacy lying in the magical acts accompanying the invocation. Apparently there was a feeling that the ancestral spirits could modify the destiny in minor details, but could not change it as a whole. The whole matter was very hazy in the minds of even the best instructed natives and it was clear that they had not thought about it until I questioned them.

Beings are believed to be of three sorts, a Deity or Deities, Non-Human Spirits, and Spirits of the Dead. The Deity or Deities are conceived of as first causes and sources of the power exercised by Beings of the other two categories. They are remote and shadowy

776 to the native mind and are never invoked alone. The Non-Human Spirits are minor Beings of little power, comparable to our own fairies and goblins. They are sometimes mischievous and terrifying, but are not taken seriously. The Spirits of the Dead take an active interest in the affairs of the living and constantly interfere to assist or injure. They are also partially dependent upon the living, their well being in the spirit world being increased by the sacrifices made to them. They are the objects of Tanala worship to the practical exclusion of all other Beings.

DEITIES

The native term for Deity is *Zanahary* (*za*, article, *nahary*, "creator"). As a noun the word is used to designate a powerful Being or class of Beings who have never been human. As an adjective it carries the significance of "divine," "supernatural" or simply "extraordinary." I have heard it used with little more weight than the English "wonderful."

The Menabe are vague as to the number of *Zanahary*. Ordinary individuals uniformly say that there is only one. Priests and *ombiasy* hesitate when the question is put to them and I have seen two priests discuss it earnestly, citing passages from the rituals. All the longer invocations include a number of names of *Zanahary* and the point at issue was whether these referred to different Beings or to forms or attributes of the same Being. All finally decided that there must be several *Zanahary*, basing this on the use of certain plural grammatical forms, but it was plain that the question had not occurred to them until I brought it up.

The reason for this vagueness is that prayers and sacrifices are always addressed to *Zanahary* and the ancestors jointly. The ancestors are all important and the *Zanahary* invocation little more than a polite gesture. My priestly informants were doubtful whether *Zanahary* ever interfered directly in ordinary human affairs. At the same time, as *Zanahary* had made everything and had given power to the ancestors, they had to be mentioned in all rituals. However, *Zanahary* are thought of as individuals, not simply as supernatural power. The concept has nothing of the impersonal, mechanistic quality of Mana.

776 It seems almost certain that the *Zanahary* were at one time more
important in the native religion and more clearly individualized.
177 The present monotheistic trend is due partly to contact with Chris-
[769] tians and other monotheistic native groups and partly to a steady
increase in the importance of ancestor worship.

increase in the importance of ancestor worship. An *ombiasy* told 776 me that the ancient Tanala believed that every human group and 177 species of animal, and even every individual, had its own *Zanahary*, who had created it and looked after its welfare. This belief is still held by the neighboring Bara tribe and there are hints of it in several other tribes.

The names of the *Zanahary* given in the invocations certainly 776 suggest Beings with different attributes. They include Andranofalafa (god who lives in a house thatched with *falafa*), Mandiovazankoho (god with the clean finger nails), Rangidana (a small, slim-waisted insect, a symbol of speed) and Masomamakizahana (a ceremonial name for the sun). There are a number of other names which can no longer be translated even by the priests. The rituals further indicate that these Beings were believed to live above the sky. One passage suggests that they slept unless awakened by an invocation. Others speak of them as sitting on gold or silver stools, watching men and sending them good and evil. They visited earth when summoned to partake of the sacrifice, returning when they had eaten their share. They went from earth to heaven by means of a chain of gold or a cord of silver. Beyond the names and facts embalmed in the rituals, even the wisest of the priests know nothing.

A single gens of the Menabe, the Zafimaniry, consider the sun and moon as Deities and pray and sacrifice to them in sickness or trouble. These sacrifices are made at the regular sacred place or in the *kianza* ("village square"). The ritual is the same as for other sacrifices, the invocation including the ancestors, but the sun and moon are especially appealed to and stressed. Apparently there are no ceremonies for eclipses.

The Ikongo may have originally held the same shadowy beliefs as the Menabe, but they have been monotheists since the beginning of the historic period. To them *Zanahary* signifies a single great and all-powerful deity, creator and ruler of the world. Proverbs indicate that he is considered just and benevolent. He protects the widow and orphan and punishes wrongdoers. At the same time, there is much doubt as to how far he interferes in human affairs. Apparently he is thought to delegate his power to the ancestors, directing them and acting through them. Only great catastrophes or strange and inexplicable events are ascribed to his direct intervention. He is never prayed to except in connection with the ancestors. The term *Zanahary* is also applied here to the souls of dead kings, being linked with their names, like a title.

776 777 The Ikongo have had a good deal of contact with the tribes of the southeast coast, where there have been Arab settlements since the eighth century, and one of their noble gentes claims Arab descent. Their concept of *Zanahary* is probably due to an attenuated Mohammedan influence.

776 The relation of *Zanahary* or the *Zanahary* to Fate is so vague in the minds of the natives that they can hardly be said to have any opinion on the subject. In general they conclude that Fate must emanate from the *Zanahary*, who are the source of everything, but they doubt whether the Deities ever intervene after the mechanism had been set going.

781 The attitude toward *Zanahary* is due to the practical outlook of the natives. Although the *Zanahary* are great and powerful, they are remote and little interested in human affairs. Nothing is to be gained from them, so there are no emotional attitudes in regard to them. They have been relegated to the abyss of first causes and their number, nature, etc., have ceased to be matters of interest.

NON-HUMAN SPIRITS

776 The Tanala have a vague belief in the existence of non-human spirits but, like the Deities, these are of no importance in comparison with the ancestors. They never worship or sacrifice to them and doubt whether they interfere in human affairs.

The *angalampona* (from *angatra*, "spirit," and *ampona*, "foolish") are little Beings about 3 feet tall who live in dense forest. They look like miniature men but are covered with hair and have very long hair on their heads. Their hands and faces are human, but they have pointed teeth, like lemurs. Bits of their hair are often found caught on bushes. They go nude but, although they are both male and female, the sexes cannot be distinguished. During the day they hide in holes, coming out at night to hunt shrimps, which they eat raw. They also steal food from the fields and from houses, and can make the occupants of a house fall into a deep sleep. They are very partial to cooked food and never steal anything else from dwellings. Shrimp catchers, who build rough shelters in the woods and spend the night there, often see them but are never able to catch them. They are considered slightly mischievous but quite harmless.

The *tsiombiomby* (lit. "not an ox") are large Beings in the form of four-footed animals, somewhat like horses. They chase people on lonely roads. There is one on the road between Tombony and

Manambo which has chased the mail carriers several times. Apparently no one has ever been caught or injured by them. 776

The *tandranomalany* are mermaids. Three hours' march to the 776 north of Ambohimanga there is a lake called Androrangovola Varitra 773 which is one of their favorite haunts. On the edge of this, one sometimes sees two to four or more women sitting and working raffia or weaving. If approached, they dive into the lake and disappear. Two informants claimed to have seen them themselves. They are thoroughly human in appearance and very handsome. Four or five generations ago a man of the Zafiakotry gens made friends with one of them and she consented to marry him if he would never tell anyone that she was a *tandranomalany*. She came to his village and lived there for several years, bearing him two boys and two girls. Other men in the village often asked him where she came from and envied him his handsome wife. Finally, when drunk, he told them that she was a mermaid. One of their children overheard him and came running to ask her whether it was true. She was very angry and when he returned home she told him that she was going back to her people and would take the children with her. She took the children to the lake and gave each of them a hand of bananas, telling them to dive in and eat the whole bunch under water. Two, a girl and a boy, were able to do this and she plunged into the lake, taking them with her, and never returned. The other two returned to their father, grew up and married ordinary mortals. Their descendants still live in the village and are handsome and of fine physique.

The *tsivolomo ongu* are inhabitants of the under world (see 776 Cosmology). They are like men except that their noses are set crosswise on their faces. They never visit our world.

SPIRITS OF THE DEAD

The cult of the dead is all-important in Tanala religion. It 774 forms a complex of interwoven beliefs and practices. The Tanala Menabe believe that man is composed of three parts, the body, the *aina*, and the *ambiroa*. The *aina* is the life or vital force and is identified with the breath. It has no form or consciousness and leaves the body only at death. Its fate after death is not clear in the native mind. Some informants said that it ceased to exist, others that it returned to the *Zanahary* who had given it.

The word *ambiroa* signifies "the second part" or "the double." The *ambiroa* has consciousness, personality and form. It is, in fact, 774 the mind and soul of the individual inhabiting a body which is exactly like the fleshy body except that it is composed of much more tenuous matter. It preserves a certain detachment from the physical body even during life. It leaves the body during sleep, unconsciousness or insanity, and dreams and hallucinations are its actual experiences. It may also leave the body when the person is awake and sane, and may stay away for days or even weeks. The mind and body continue to function during its absence, but with reduced vigor, and if it stays away too long, the body dies. The natives cannot explain the inconsistency between this belief and the belief that the *ambiroa* and mind are inseparable. Apparently they have not analyzed their beliefs that far.

There is no connection between the *ambiroa* and the shadow. *Ambiroa* of both the dead and living are often seen. They look exactly like the person but usually appear at a little distance and fade away if approached. Those of the living do not speak, but those of the dead sometimes do, counseling people or demanding sacrifices. *Ambiroa* of the living are seen most frequently when the person is ill, or when he is away from home and longing to return. They have no special significance and are not a sign of approaching death. *Ambiroa* of the dead appear most frequently in deserted villages, near tombs, or in lonely places. They are not dangerous unless offended and do not seem to be particularly feared, although such meetings are never sought by the living. I asked one informant whether it was a good or bad omen to encounter the *ambiroa* of a deceased relative and he answered emphatically: "A bad omen! He will ask you to sacrifice an ox to him."

The *ambiroa* of the living frequently meet and talk with the *ambiroa* of the dead in dreams, returning to their bodies with a memory of the encounter. This may also occur in trances. It is most frequent in the case of *ombiasy*, some of whom claim to be constantly directed in this way.

When the *ambiroa* is absent from the conscious body it goes to the place of the ancestors, just as if its body were dead, but when it returns all memory of its sojourn among them is effaced. A person whose *ambiroa* has left him is said to be *mitsitraloka*. It must be recalled as soon as possible, for if it is allowed to remain with the ancestors too long it will build a house and plant rice fields in the
774 spirit world and will refuse to return. When an *ombiasy* has diag-
755 nosed a disease as being due to the absence of the *ambiroa*, a sort of mush is prepared by pounding and boiling a small wild grain. The

sufferer squats on the floor with the pot of steaming mush between 774
his feet and covers himself completely with a *lamba*, inhaling as much
of the steam as possible and taking a small sweat bath. When the 155
mush has cooled he eats it. After this, his *ambiroa* will return. Maladies due to this seem to be fairly common and are often diagnosed and treated without calling in an *ombiasy*. If the sickness recurs frequently a charm against it may be worn.

The *ambiroa* leaves the body once for all in incurable insanity 775
and at death. Apparently there is no idea that the insane are possessed. Their actions are due to the *aina*, which continues to function in the absence of the *ambiroa*. If they are quiet and peaceful, their needs are provided for, but if they are troublesome, violent, or appear to be in pain, they are killed as quickly and painlessly as possible. If a corpse revives after the funeral ceremonies are well under way, its movements are also thought to be due to the *aina*, and it is quietly strangled.

With a few exceptions, to be noted later, all *ambiroa* have the same fate after death. Ethical conduct while alive does not affect this, except that a person who has been formally disowned, a notorious sorcerer, or a man of extremely evil life, may be rejected by the spirits of his ancestors and refused a place in their village. Such souls become vagabonds, working evil upon the living and hanging about at sacrifices to intercept the good souls and seduce them into injuring their descendants. In some sacrificial rituals the ancestral spirits are asked to return to their village as soon as they have eaten and to be careful not to talk to any of these vagabonds whom they may meet on the way.

Souls who have been accepted by the ancestors live in villages and carry on an existence exactly like that while alive. They have their chiefs, marry, have children, build houses, plant rice and raise cattle, go on journeys, etc. When bodies are to be moved to a new tomb, the dead are given several days' notice with an admonition to pack their baggage and recall any of their number who are away. Their state is thought to be somewhat more felicitous than that of the living, but they are not exempt from troubles and even sickness. In one ritual the souls are requested to take a share of the offering to any of their number who may be absent through illness. Each soul has exactly the same form as its body at the time of death, even to mutilations and deformities.

The location of the spirit villages is not clear in the native mind. Several informants said that the *ambiroa* lived on Mount Ambon-

775 drombe, a real mountain in the Ankaratra range. The Imerina and Betsileo believe that the souls of their dead live there, and the Tanala have probably borrowed the idea from them. A very few said that, as the *ambiroa* were close to the *Zanahary*, their villages must be in the sky, where the *Zanahary* live. One *ombiasy*, who was unusually well versed in the old tribal lore, said that the spirit villages were actually in the villages of the living, the *ambiroa* being drawn back or held there by their afterbirths, which had been interred before the doors of the houses where they were born. All agreed that the *ambiroa* often took up their residence in abandoned villages. The commonest belief seems to be that the spirit villages are located near the village tomb or sacred place or in certain localities called *zintana*. The *zintana* may be the sites of ancient tombs which have been abandoned, old village sites, hilltops, places where one suddenly feels the air to be cold and clammy, or patches of forest in which the [824] growth shows abnormalities. If the vines are twisted and knotted upon themselves and the trees turn in loops, or have stems that divide and unite again above, the place is certainly a *zintana*.

Before such places can be cultivated an ox must be sacrificed, [782] but after they have been brought under cultivation an annual sacrifice of rum at planting time seems to be enough. If this is not made, there will be no harvest and the persons who have planted the *zintana* will die. Sometimes a special part of the *zintana* is set aside for the sacrifices and left uncleared.

Although the fate of practically all *ambiroa* is that already described, there are two exceptions. The Manandriana gens of the Menabe believe that the *ambiroa* of persons killed with spears, and of those not buried in the village tomb, change into beings called *ziny*. The latter group would include lost bodies, lepers, smallpox victims, and the more flagrant thieves and sorcerers. The *ziny* are substantial and have the form of birds about the size of turkeys. They have fire under their wings which shows when they raise them. They are most frequently seen just before the rice is ripe, when people have begun to parch and eat it. They come into the villages at night and eat the chaff where the parched rice has been pounded. It is not dangerous to see them, but they sometimes attack people and that is fatal. The east coast tribes and the Betsileo also believe in the existence of these beings, but do not consider them of human origin. They appear to be derived from the Arab *djinns* and it seems probable that the Tanala, who think very little of non-human spirits, have added the idea of their human origin.

775 825 At the present time the Menabe believe that the souls of their kings pass into *fanana*, large snakes apparently of the boa family, but the belief has arisen in the last hundred years, in imitation of the Betsileo. The story told of its origin, if true, affords an interesting example of how such ideas may spread. Shortly after the death of King Rainlevola a *fanana* came into the royal house at Ambohimanga and although it was put out several times it always returned. It was plainly a portent of some sort and the family called an *ombiasy* ("medicine-man") to see what it meant. He could get no answer from the *sikidy* ("divination") but said he thought the snake must want to tell them something. They called a second *ombiasy* with the same result. Then a man of the Betsileo tribe who was living at Ambohimanga said: "If that happened in our country we should know that it was the soul of a king returning. Perhaps it is so here, since you now have kings." At that time kingship was newly established among the Menabe under the overlordship of the Imerina. The people went through the Betsileo ritual, under his direction, and at the name of Rainlevola the animal crawled upon the *lamba* spread out for it. After that the Tanala accepted the *fanana* belief and ceremony. Another visit of the same sort occurred just before the idols were burned at the order of the Imerina queen.

775 In ordinary practice the term *ambiroa* is applied only to the souls or doubles of the living. The *ambiroa* of the dead are called *angatra*, the difference between the two terms being very nearly the same as our own distinction between "soul" and "ghost." *Angatra* is also used as a general term for spirits, including minor Beings not of human origin as well as ghosts.

769 *Angatra* of human origin are divided into two classes, the *fahasivy* and the *sina*. The *fahasivy* are the *ambiroa* of deceased members of the gens. The term means literally "ninth," in reference to the ninth place in the arrangement of the *sikidy*, which is the place which represents the ancestors. The *fahasivy* supposedly are ever present and take an active interest in the affairs of their descendants, helping and punishing them. They are constantly invoked and sacrificed to and their worship is the core of the native religion. They may be invoked anywhere, but are thought to hear best and be most accessible at the village sacred place, where the memorial stones are erected. They appear to the living as ghosts, or in dreams.

The *sina* are the *ambiroa* of remote ancestors whose names and personalities have been forgotten, or of people who occupied a territory before the ancestors of the present inhabitants arrived. They

769 occupy definite localities, the *zintana* already described, and do not interfere in human affairs except to punish trespass on their territory. They are never appealed to for aid and only receive sacrifices when their land is used, or when it is thought that an illness is due to trespass. They never appear to the living. Although the *zina* now play the role of local spirits, all informants agreed that they are of human origin.

DEATH AND BURIAL

IKONGO BURIAL CUSTOMS

764 The following account of death and burial among the Tanala Ikongo is given in the manuscript of Sadaro Antoine: "If a person is sick enough to cause anxiety the members of the family assemble in the house where he is. If he dies the body is washed in cold water and after the bath the hair is braided and oiled. The bathing and hairdressing are done by relatives of the same sex as the deceased. After the body has been wrapped in *lambas* [mantles] or mats it is carried to the *trano be* [village assembly house] with the head uncovered. A piece of silver is put in the mouth and beads on the neck and hair. After this has been done the family sends for the relatives who live at a distance. The able-bodied men of the family go to the forest to make a *loka* [coffin], a tree trunk hollowed out and provided with four feet, in which to lay the body. One or two cattle are killed, according to the wealth of the family, and the meat distributed among the inhabitants of the village. Sometimes the messengers invite strangers to come to the feast and sometimes an ox is sent to the forest to be eaten by the workers there. When the *loka* is finished the men bring it to the village joyfully. The women and children go out to meet them and lead the way back also rejoicing. The *loka* is placed on the east side of the house, where the body is also laid. The next day the body is placed in it and it is closed with a made cover or plank bound on with vines. It is then hung up in the house. The length of time the body stays in the *trano be* depends on the wealth of the family. Ordinarily it is carried to the *kibory* [clan tomb] after two or three days, but if the family is rich it may hang there ten or fifteen days. During this time the family kills cattle, feasting the village and visitors and burning the fat in the *trano be* to overpower the smell of the decaying body. If the body decomposes and matter drips from the coffin they take it out of the village and empty it, then bring it back. Before the cortege leaves for the *kibory* some people go ahead to prepare food for the

mpandevina [assistants]. An ox is killed near the tomb and a great 764 deal of rice cooked. Men, women and children follow the cortege to the tomb dancing and singing. After the interment the *mpandevina* take their meal in the open air, returning to the village afterward. To end the fête one or more oxen are killed and the meat distributed to all the assistants. The funeral ceremony is called *mandrava lanona*. A funeral without cattle killing is scorned by the people.

"On the day of a funeral, before the cortege leaves for the *kibory* [clan tomb] the chief of the *kibory* stands before the body and makes the following speech: 'Oh thou who art dead, today we are separated forever, not by our wish but by the will of *Zanahary*. We will carry thee to the tomb where thy ancestors rest. Remain there with them and do not return to bring evil into the house. If, however, thy death has been caused by sorcery, may thy ghost quickly slay the evil doer. Do good to us and drive away all diseases.' After the body has been placed in the tomb the chief of the *kibory* or his representative makes the following speech: 'Oh you who are in this house, listen to what I say. We are now sending you so-and-so [giving name], one whom *Zanahary* has taken from us. Receive him to rest with you. Do not let him wander everywhere. Do not scorn him, for he is one of the last little children of one from whom we are all descended.'

"In former times *Mpanzaka* [kings] were usually interred secretly. 766 When a king was ill no one except the members of his family could 643 enter the house where he was. A post, *adiby*, was set up in front of his door as a prohibition to enter. If the king died he was buried secretly that night by the village chiefs and *Notables*. His wives, children and relatives were forbidden to weep or to wear any sign of mourning. If asked how the king was they must answer that he was *mafanafana* [indisposed]. The reason for this was that the [721] tribes were constantly at war and the king was the military leader. If the enemy learned the king was dead they would attack the leaderless tribe and almost certainly defeat it. After some months, during which the people had chosen a new king, guns were fired on the highest hill in the tribe's territory. This announced the death of the king. On learning the sad news everyone wept in the villages. As a sign of grief they unbraided their hair and wore it hanging loose, and dressed in old mats. All the people went to the king's village. There they feasted for several days during which cattle were killed and the meat distributed. The new king was placed in a special house and no one might approach him except the *Anakandriana*

766 643 [village chiefs] and *Notables*. At the end of the fête the new king, accompanied by all the people, left his hiding to enter the *trano be*. There was a great feast, the rejoicing being kept up until morning. Before they returned to their homes the new king gave the people one or two oxen which were killed and the meat distributed.

"Certain kings requested before their death that they should not be buried secretly. In this case the people chose a new king quickly, always from the royal family. The new king was put in a house in a secluded part of the village until the funeral was over. After his election the body of the dead king was placed in the *trano be* surrounded by women of the noble caste. A man of the Antimanga gens lay down close to the body and did not leave it until it was placed in the coffin. The men went to the forest to make a *loka* [coffin]. When it was ready they brought it into the village at night, unknown to the inhabitants. The body was placed in it and hung up in the *trano be*. Next day, at cockcrow, conch shell trumpets were sounded and guns fired in the air to announce the king's death. All the people wept and hastened to the king's village. All bulls which had lived in the same time as the king were killed, the meat distributed among all the people and the fat burned in the *trano be*. [The first part of this passage is not clear. The writer may mean bulls born in the year of the king's ascension or bulls born on the king's birthday.] The neighboring tribes were invited and during fifteen or thirty days tribesmen and strangers alike did nothing but feast. The king's body decomposed in the coffin, which was taken down and emptied from time to time. Sometimes only the bones were left to take to the *kibory*. At the end of the fifteen or thirty days they buried the skeleton and the new king made his solemn entry into the *trano be*."

764 Shaw, who visited the Ikongo shortly after 1870, says: "They make no tombs but bury their dead in the forest with no other mark than a notched tree to keep the spot in remembrance. The carrying of the body to its last resting place is accompanied by yelling and screaming but I saw no ostentatious mourning and weeping, as with the Betsileo. At certain places on the road the body is placed on the ground and a series of games is commenced in which wrestling and spear exercise form an important part. Burying is called 'throwing [113] away the corpse.'" (Shaw, George A., Notes on Ikongo and Its People, Antananarivo Annual, Vol. 1, 1875, p. 69.) Grandidier also says: "The Ikongo do not erect any tombs; they inter their dead in the forest and are content with marking the place by the help of a notch

cut in the nearest tree. Their funerals are unaccompanied with cries 764
or weeping." (Grandidier, A., Funeral Ceremonies among the [113]
Malagasy, Antananarivo Annual, Vol. IV, 1889–92, p. 314.) My own informants denied that the Ikongo buried in this way, insisting that all the gentes used the *kibory* ("gens tomb"). It is possible that the above quotations refer to an ancient form of disposal which is now obsolete, or that it was the practice of only a few clans, or, less probably, that they refer to a temporary disposal prior to the real funeral, like that which still exists among the Menabe.

MENABE BURIAL CUSTOMS

Among the Manandriana division of the Tanala Menabe the funeral ceremonies are practically the same for all people, for in [564] the old days there were no castes. The differences are simply in the expensiveness of the feast. If a family has not enough food to make a good funeral the relatives may quietly take the body to the forest and leave it there until after the rice harvest, when it is brought back, the funeral made, and the bones taken to the tomb.

Immediately after death the body is washed and the hair arranged by relatives of the same sex. If it is a king this is done on the [766] knees of slaves or officers. It is then wrapped in a *lamba* of raffia or of natural colored *hafotra* ("bast"). The latter is called *sembo avoha.* The *lamba* is drawn up over the head but the face is left uncovered. If it should be covered the spirit could not find its road. Some of the other Menabe gentes occasionally wrap the body in a mat rubbed with wood ashes and put it in a large container of folded bark, as a crude attempt at preservation. The body is laid in the middle of the northern half of its own house with the head east. Some gentes consider it a hardship to bury quickly and keep the body in the house as much as a month, burning the fat of cattle to overpower the smell, but the Manandriana keep it only two or three days, never more than a week even for kings. During this time persons under twenty years old are excluded, also, according to one informant, pregnant women. The other people enter the house, mourn and also sing and dance. The songs are funeral chants called *misejo.* While the body lies in the house a few cattle are killed each day to feast the people and quantities of rice are pounded in preparation for the great feast on the day before the interment. Most of the cattle are also saved for this.

On the day before the interment the cattle to be killed are driven to the *kianza* ("village square") and the pounded rice piled up there

764 on mats. A man belonging to the family of either the father or the mother of the deceased makes a *kabary* ("speech") thanking everyone for his sympathy and announcing what each person has given to the bereaved family, together with his name. It is customary for relatives and friends to make small gifts to help defray the funeral expenses. The speaker then thanks everyone again and announces that the interment will take place next morning in such and such a tomb. He also says that anyone who lives at a distance, or who has important business, is now free to return home. After this there is a feast. Cattle are killed and the rice and part of the meat cooked, the rest of the meat being distributed to the people to take home.

The next morning the body is taken to the tomb by the *angoma*,
members of the village who always perform this office. In the village
[115] of Raindranaivo, my principal informant, there were four of these,
but the number does not seem to be fixed. The office is not hereditary
and they seem to be chosen for their willingness to enter the tomb
and handle the corpses. If an *angoma* is away and a member of his
lineage becomes seriously ill he is sent for and is in duty bound to
return. Each *angoma* receives a chicken and 2.50 francs for his
services.

The body is carried out of the house by the regular door and taken directly to the tomb. If an ordinary person it is usually lashed to a pole, for ease in transport, but if a chief the *angoma* carry it in their hands. The people accompany the body singing and dancing. When they reach the tomb there is a small *kabary* at which those who have come this far are again thanked and told that they can go back as what remains to be done is the work of the *angoma*. They return except for four or five of the closest relatives who remain until the body is placed in the tomb. The *angoma* arrange the bodies in the tomb to make a place for the new corpse and take up the skulls of the parents and grandparents of the deceased, placing them above his body. After the funeral the relatives return to the house of death and stay two or three days, then go home.

766 Only one king of the Menabe, Raindranaivo, is known to have been buried at night and this was done in imitation of the Imerina practice. In further imitation he was buried in a separate tomb, not in that of his gens. He died at a distance and his body was brought back to his capital. He was mourned for three days and buried at midnight.

764 Grandidier says of the Tanala, presumably some of the northern gentes: "The free Tanala do not inter their dead until they have lain

in state for a month or so. For three days they leave the corpse uncovered; but after this they wrap it in red *lamba* [mantles] and place it in a coffin, which they do not carry to the cemetery until the completion of the month. The liquid products of decomposition flow upon the earthen floor of the house and are simply covered with earth. During all the time of the lying-in-state the surviving partner (husband or wife) sleeps in the house as if his or her spouse were still living. This custom obtains also among the Betsimisaraka, Tanosy and other tribes. The coffin is deposited in a solitary place in the forest and is surrounded by a palisade of tree trunks which hides its cover. 764

"The *andriana* or chiefs whose ancestors are of foreign (Arab) extraction, are, on the contrary, interred on the very day of their death. The coffin, with a lid in the shape of a roof, on which is fixed a pair of horns, is carried into the dense forest and placed under a kind of shed. An image, suspended in a corner of the house where the death took place, receives for six weeks all the signs of grief and marks of regret from the people, after which it is thrown into the nearest river with great ceremony. The royal cemetery is visited from time to time to renew the coffins when they fall into decay and also to change the *lamba* in which the bones are enveloped." (Grandidier, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-314.)[1] All my Menabe informants denied the existence of most of the features in which the above account differs from my own and I can only assume that the practices described are those of some gens with which I never came in contact. 766

TOMBS

All the Tanala employ communal tombs known as *kibory*, but there is a good deal of variation in detail. Some of the present differences may be due to the diverse origin of the various gentes, but there can be little doubt that the Tanala burial practices have been influenced by those of their neighbors on the east and west. To make these influences clear it seems best to give a brief description of the tombs used by the tribes bordering on their territory.

The Imerina and Betsileo, who occupy the plateau to the west, employ family vaults. When a man becomes sufficiently rich he will build a tomb for himself and his descendants. This will be used by his children, grandchildren, etc., in the male line until one of them decides to found a tomb of his own. A person who does this acquires great prestige and becomes the ancestor of a new family. New tombs are constantly being erected and the whole line of descendants will 764 [556]

[1] [See p. 173, category 116 or 764 -Analyst]

764 rarely use the same tomb for more than three or four generations.
The tombs are always built in prominent places, beside roads, etc. The Imerina sometimes sacrifice at them but the Betsileo do not. Neither group has special persons appointed as tomb guardians.

The tribes of the southeast coast, who border the Tanala on the
764 east, employ gens tombs founded, at least in theory, by the original
618 gens ancestor. No new tombs are founded by individuals and as the
778 gens grows and expands its territory the single tomb comes to be used by a number of villages. The gens tomb is always in a secluded place, surrounded by a grove of trees, and, if possible, near the sacred river. Only the tomb guardian or persons he designates can approach it at ordinary times. It is, however, the center of the religious life of the gens. Important sacrifices are made there and trials for sorcery are held at it. There is an hereditary official known as the *Lahy Kibory* ("chief" or "guardian of the *kibory*") who is the religious head of the gens with powers approaching those of the secular chief. He not only has charge of the *kibory* and everything pertaining to it, but offers the sacrifices to the ancestors and punishes infractions of tribal custom, such as incest.

The Tanala practices vary between these two extremes without
764 fully arriving at either. In a very general way it may be said that the southern clans lean toward the southeast coast practice while the northern ones lean toward that of the plateau. Among the Tanala Ikongo the *kibory* almost conforms to the southeastern pattern. Sadaro Antoine says: "The *kibory* is situated far from villages so that the ghosts will not disturb the tranquillity of the living. It is in a cave. The bodies are laid one upon another with the exception
766 of the *Mpanzaka* [king] who is placed in a coffin on an elevated place to the east. Persons who die of contagious diseases [lepers and smallpox victims] or children who die under a month old are not admitted to the *kibory*. The latter are buried in marshy ground. Sorcerers are also excluded unless a number of cattle have been killed
764 to rectify the fault. The chief of the *kibory* is a simple chief of the family but he receives a certain respect from the natives. He makes regulations that no one may burn the forest near where the *kibory* is located, or enter the forest or cut a single tree in it. Anyone who breaks these rules has to pay a fine of a large ox. When the tomb has to be repaired or when the ancestors wish a new tomb, it is the chief of the *kibory* who calls the family together to do this. For this work he has to kill many cattle and furnish a quantity of rice for the workers. A sacrifice of twenty or thirty cattle is an average for a

ich family. It is the chief of the *kibory* who offers the sacrifices and 764
ddresses the prayers to the ancestors."

Very little additional information was obtained but this seems to [621]
ndicate that all the members of a gens do not necessarily use the same *ibory* and I suspect that every village of long standing has one of its wn. The office of guardian of the *kibory* also seems to be much less mportant than among the southeast coast tribes. Early writers say hat the Ikongo simply buried their dead in the forest and it seems ossible that their use of the *kibory* has been borrowed from the astern tribes in comparatively recent times.

Informants from the Tanala Menabe say that some of their 764
northern gentes have true gens tombs which are used by as 618
many as ten or twelve villages. These consist of houses containing stone lined pits with three compartments. The bodies of men are placed in one compartment, those of women in another and those of children in the third. The type would seem to be almost identical with that used by the southeast coast tribes, but informants thought that there was no special guardian of the tomb. They were not sure of this and spoke from hearsay rather than personal knowledge.

Among the rest of the Menabe each village has two or three tombs 764
which are in simultaneous use. As a rule the corpses are put in the [621]
different tombs in rotation, but the village chief or council may also designate the tomb to be used. New tombs may be built either by the village as a whole, when the old ones are in danger of becoming overcrowded, or by individuals. The builder of a tomb acquires [554]
prestige and can specify certain things in regard to it, as that it shall be used only for men or that the men's and women's bodies shall be kept separate in it, but its use never seems to be limited to his direct descendants.

The tombs themselves are of three types: natural caves, rock shelters and houses. Caves are used when possible and if a good one is discovered within a reasonable distance of the village the dead are often moved into it. In the case of rock shelters a large box of heavy planks with a plank cover is built under the overhang where it will be protected from the weather. Some of these boxes are said to be very large, with room for a hundred or more bodies. If neither caves nor rock shelters are available, the *kibory* consists of a large rectangular pit lined with dry stone masonry and covered with stone slabs or planks. The earth is heaped above in a mound and a house built over the whole. The *kibory* are always hidden in dense brush at least a half hour's march from the village.

764 766 The bodies are laid in the tomb with the heads east, without coffins. Men and women are piled together indiscriminately unless the builder of the tomb has specified otherwise. Even chiefs are interred with the rest, although a few of the kings demanded individual tombs in imitation of the Imerina practice. Lepers and smallpox victims are excluded, but in some cases their bones seem to be put in after a few years of temporary interment in the ground. Sorcerers and other criminals are also excluded, their bodies being left [618] for the dogs to eat. It is a universal rule that only members of the gens can be buried in the *kibory*.

769 The tomb is transferred if the village is transferred or if a better site has been found. When the new tomb is ready, the day before the transfer, the two or three most important men of the village come to the tomb and call: "Hallo, so-and-so and so-and-so," giving the names of all the important dead they know, "you are the great ones of the family here. Your tomb and residence here are bad. You know this and we know it too. We are going to transfer you tomorrow to such and such a place. Assemble all the family here, assemble the children and all your baggage, for tomorrow we will go there."

Next morning all the *Fokonolona* ("village council") come to the tomb and kill an ox to the east of it, i.e., by the heads of the dead. They spread out mats with raffia *lambas* ("mantles") on top. They then take out all the bodies and lay them on the *lambas* and sew them up into bundles. The bodies of wives and husbands are sewn up together, when known, all the children are put in one bundle and the oldest dead, who have fallen to pieces, in another. The bundles are then wrapped in mats and tied to carrying poles with vines. It is forbidden to use ropes. A little of the sacrificed ox is grilled and eaten at the old tomb, but most of it is carried along for the feast at the new tomb. If it is a long trip a stop may be made and a meal cooked en route. On the way the people sing and play tricks on each other and sometimes wrestle. One trick is for the man on the rear end of the carrying pole to push suddenly and try to throw the front man down.

When they reach the new tomb all the bodies are put down outside. A special house has been built there and the people spend the night in this, singing and dancing. They feast that night and again the next morning, killing sometimes as many as ten oxen, depending on the wealth of the village. After breakfast they put the bodies in the new tomb. The body of the most important ancestor, except for his skull, is put at the bottom of the pit or box

and the others on top. Care is taken to have the heads of each sort 769
behind those of the more important kind. Thus a child would be laid with its head extending only to its parent's throat. The skull of the most important ancestor is laid on top of all the bodies and is moved up at each new interment so that it will always be on top.

The Menabe seem to lack entirely the idea of a *Lahy Kibory* ("guardian of the tomb") and no ceremonies are held at the *kibory* except at funerals or when it is transferred. In general it is taboo to cut wood or gather forest products in its vicinity and the place is shunned by everyone. Enemy gentes have been known to destroy the *kibory* if they held a special animosity, but this is rare.

RELICS OF DEAD CHIEFS

According to Sadaro Antoine the Ikongo have the practice of 769
preserving relics of dead chiefs. A similar practice exists among the 778
Sakalava. My Menabe informants had never heard of anything of the sort and I was unable to verify it for the Ikongo, but Sadaro's account is so circumstantial that I feel sure it exists. He says: "The *kovavy*, which the Marohala also call *lambo hamba*, is a collection of the upper eye teeth of famous kings preserved in memory of their services. The *kovavy* is made up of a series of crocodile teeth in which the canines are preserved. The crocodile teeth are attached side by side on a piece of cotton cloth bordered with silk called *kilambony* or *tsy maroavaratra*. The whole is kept in the *kirakidrakitra*, a small covered basket of fine weave. This basket is usually kept on a small shelf above the eastern door of the house. Guardianship of the *kovavy* is confined to a man of the Antimanga gens or to a king of the noble caste. It is forbidden for the guardian to eat black bananas or *boroboaka* bananas [two species]. It is also forbidden to raise guinea fowl or pigs in the village where the *kovavy* is kept.

"The festival of *fampandroana kovavy* [bathing the *kovavy*] is 778
celebrated in the month *Volambita* [October] or *Asaramanitra* 788
[December]. The bathing is done in a part of the river where the 769
water seems to be asleep. For the Manambondro gens the bathing place is Ambinanindrano, a place situated just above the confluence of the Manambondro and Sahonjatsy rivers. Before the departure of the procession for the river the men enter the house where the *kovavy* is kept. The women gather to the east of the house and sing. A man of noble caste approaches the place of honor, respectfully takes the basket, places it on his head, and then carefully deposits it

778 on a *sariry* [finely woven mat] before the eastern door. A person of
788 either sex, but always of noble caste, carries the little basket on his
769 head to the river. The procession marches around the house three
times singing. When the procession arrives at the river an ox is killed, *sora mamanta* [black and white] or *mazava loha* [black with white marks on the forehead]. The throat is cut at the edge of the river so that blood falls into the water. The *kovavy* is taken from its basket and a man of the noble caste wears it as a bandoleer while swimming. While he crosses the river the rejoicing increases. The *drahitra* [a variety of drum] is beaten and the women chant in monotone. After a few minutes the swimmer returns to the edge of the river and puts the *kovavy* back in its basket. After a feast all return to the village with rejoicing and the little basket is put back in its place.

"The *famanana kovavy* [feeding the *kovavy*] may be held at any time. For this they kill an ox, always one of the previously mentioned colors. It is killed to the east of the *kovavy's* house by a man of noble caste. After a prayer they take a part of each of the different sorts of meat [i.e., the parts used in sacrifice] which are cooked and eaten by the assistants. They then pull off the hump and salt it with *sira ranto* [sea salt]. When it has been salted it is fastened on top of the crocodile teeth with raffia and left for a minimum of three or a maximum of six days. At the end of this time it is eaten by the guardian. In case of a calamity, such as an epidemic of locusts, etc., the protection of the *kovavy* is asked."

LOST BODIES

766 The loss of a body causes much grief to the relatives and every effort is made to recover it. The main causes of such loss are now death at a distance and drowning. In the first case the body is buried without ceremony and a year or more later, when the flesh has decayed, some of the male relatives dig it up and bring it home. A regular funeral is then held and the bones put in the gens tomb. If the person has been drowned the core of a banana tree is taken and a silver bracelet put upon it. It is then thrown into the water near where the person disappeared and is believed to float along until it comes over the place where the body lies, when it stops and balances. The relatives then dive for the body.

If the body cannot be recovered the Ikongo hold a brief funeral over his sleeping mat and pillow, which are placed in the *kibory* ("gens tomb"), and later erect a stone in his honor. Among the Manandriana division of the Menabe the pillow and mat are not

used. If the person is rich and important they raise a stone for him. 766
If not the whole family assembles in his parents' house, kills an ox if rich enough, feasts, drinks rum and sings and dances all night and until the noon meal the next day. There is no invocation or ceremony and nothing is taken to the tomb. Among some of the other Menabe the relatives take a banana trunk, wrap it in cloth, lay it in the house in the place the corpse would occupy, and go through the complete funeral ceremony, including mourning, over it. The banana trunk is thrown away after the ceremony and the cloth may be used. A similar practice existed among the Imerina but there the cloth was wrapped around a *tsangambato* ("upright stone") erected in honor of the deceased. A banana tree is used as a substitute for the body [824] because the banana plant symbolizes a man. Like fortunate human beings it dies only in old age, after it has borne fruit, and leaves offspring, i.e., the new shoots that push up from the root of the plant. The form of the fruit is another reason the Menabe give for choosing it, for the banana is to the natives a phallic symbol and an emblem of fertility.

MOURNING CUSTOMS

Mourning is never violent. There is no loud wailing, beating of 765
the breast or self mutilation. Mourners of both sexes wear old and dirty clothes, allow their hair to hang loose and disheveled and rarely bathe. Distant relatives wear mourning for one or two months, a husband or wife usually for six months, and a parent who has lost a beloved child may wear it for a year or more.

Among the Menabe the relatives assemble at the house of death one or two months after the funeral to put off mourning. All persons who have entered the house while the body lay in it are expected to be there. An ox is killed and a person who is the only child of his or her mother asperges the place where the corpse has lain with the blood. The same person then takes more of the blood, rum, white powder made by grating the *olotafina* fungus, and the plants *ariandro, tsiontsiona, vilona, vahipika* and *longoza*, cut in small pieces, and puts all in a large wooden bowl with water. He then takes some of the mixture in a cupped leaf and pours a little into the hands of everyone present. They wash their faces with it and this ends the mourning period. Some begin at once to grease and braid their hair while others sing and dance. The ceremony ends with a feast. The Ikongo also have a ceremony to end mourning, but I could not learn the details.

ERECTION OF MEMORIAL STONES

765 Among the Tanala Ikongo a second ceremony for the dead is held some time after the funeral. The interval does not seem to be fixed 764 and may vary from a few months to two years. Sadaro Antoine says: "The *orimbato* or festival commemorating the dead consists in raising one or more stones in memory of a person who has died either in the village or at a distance." There seems to have been a feeling that it was much more necessary for those whose bodies had not been placed in the gens tomb. "It is always celebrated immediately after the harvest of wet rice, i.e., between the months of January and April. The size of the stone depends on the wealth of the dead person or his family. There are some stones more than 8 meters high and more than a meter across. Before the ceremony begins the members of the family are called together to discuss how many professional dancers and musicians will be invited and how many oxen killed and to pound the rice which will be given to the visitors. The festival is begun on a lucky day, a Thursday, at four or five o'clock in the afternoon. All the women assemble in a house called the *tranombavy* [lit. "woman's house"]. The head of the family and the other men assemble to the east of the sacrifice post, *lonaka*. Conch shell trumpets and the *hazolahy* [small double-headed drums, always played in pairs] are sounded three times to assemble the spirits that may be absent. The head of the family then says: 'Oh you [naming the person commemorated] and all the ancestors, your relatives and the whole tribe are celebrating a festival. May the weather be good and none of the people fall ill. Heap up the goods of all your relatives and save them all from ennui.' At the end he asks that the soul of the person for whom the festival is given may be received by the other ancestral souls, for according to the superstition the soul of a person whose fête has not been celebrated is not received by the others. At the sound of the trumpets and *hazolahy* everyone weeps. After this the festival usually lasts three or four days but if the person is rich it continues fifteen or twenty days, during which time they feast and sing and dance to the *hazolahy* and *adabo* [two forms of drum]. The relatives of the dead and some others go to the forest to cut vines and to make a *lakana*, a sort of canoe on which the stone is laid to make it easier to transport and to keep it from breaking." Actually the *lakana* is a crude sledge. "During this time one or two oxen are killed for the stone cutters. After this all the people, accompanied by dancers and drummers, assemble to bring the stone. The men drag it while the women

sing to urge them on. During the transport two or three cattle are 765
killed. When the stone has arrived at the place where it is to be 764
set up, the brother or son of the dead man mounts upon it. While the stone is being dressed and before its erection the members of the family take vessels of water and asperge it and the helpers. They ask the protection of *Zanahary* and the ancestors that the stone may not break. When the stone has been set up, the family begins to distribute cattle in the following way: one for the young women, one for the young men and one for the important people. After these have been killed and the meat distributed everyone returns home." The Ikongo erect only tall upright stones, identical with European menhirs, and place them wherever they wish, usually beside a road or on an elevation where they can be seen from a distance. The menhirs of an entire family may be grouped together, but this is rather rare. No sacrifices are offered at the menhirs.

Among the Menabe the erection of memorial stones is less 764
frequent than among the Ikongo and they are not thought necessary for the peace of the dead person's soul. The stones may be of either of two types: menhirs, which are called *vato lahy* ("male stones"), or tables consisting of a large irregular flat slab supported by three upright stones. The latter are called *vato vavy* ("female stones") by most of the gentes, but the Zafindriantrova sometimes refer to them as *aloalo*, a term which the southwestern tribes of the island apply to memorial carvings placed on tombs. The *vato lahy* are always raised to commemorate men, the *vato vavy* usually commemorate women, but may be raised for men if the family is poor or if no stone suitable for a menhir can be found. The three upright stones are said to symbolize the three stones set in a fireplace to support the cooking pots, hence the woman's half of the work and family. The use of *vato lahy* appears to be very ancient, that of *vato vavy* somewhat more recent. An informant of the Zafiakotry gens says that they erected their first *vato vavy* when he was ten years old, i.e., about 1870. Both types may be erected anywhere, the relatives choosing the place they think the deceased would have preferred, but as a rule all the memorial stones of a village will be grouped together in a single sacred place. The two types are usually arranged in pairs, the table immediately to the west of the menhir, but each monument commemorates a different individual and those of a pair are rarely erected simultaneously.

The Zafimaniry say that in the most ancient times they used cut stones for their memorials, then lost the art of stone cutting.

764 At the present time their more pretentious memorials are of cut stone, Betsileo stone cutters being employed. Among the other gentes the memorial stones are almost uniformly rough or only slightly shaped. The largest Tanala menhir I saw was approximately 9 feet high, 3 feet wide at the base and 18 inches thick. The largest table was approximately 4 by 5 feet and 1 foot thick and raised 2 feet 6 inches above ground. The country of the Menabe is so broken and so heavily forested that the use of sledges for drawing the great stones is impossible. A large stretcher is made with two very long poles as thick as a man's leg and wooden crosspieces and on this the stone is lashed with vines. It is carried bodily by fifty or sixty men, others going ahead to cut a road. In a recent erection three hundred men assisted, carrying in shifts. When the menhir comes to the place of its erection a pit approximately the size of the base is dug and the stone laid beside it with the base overhanging. It is then levered up and blocked until it drops in. Then the base is tamped.

Memorial stones may be raised by the relatives of their own accord, or on the advice of an *ombiasy*, who tells them so-and-so desires a memorial, or by individuals in pursuance of a vow. The last method is the least frequent and such vows are only resorted to in times of great stress as when a beloved child lies at the point of death. The vow may be made anywhere, with or without witnesses, but is usually made publicly, in the *kianza* ("village square"). If one of the ancestors demands a *vato lahy*, either in a dream or through the medium of an *ombiasy*, the relatives will often ask for time, promising to erect it later, say after the next harvest.

There is no fixed time for the erection of the memorial stones. They may be raised at once, while the body still lies in the house, or several years later. If erected at once there is no sacrifice, as all sacrifices are forbidden while a dead body lies in the village, but an ox is killed as soon as it has been set up and the meat distributed. If the stone is raised some time after the death, one ox is sacrificed with the regular formula at the time that the cutting or transportation of the stone is begun, the priest praying that it may not break and that there may be no accidents. A second ox is sacrificed when it is set up. In either case the hump of the ox killed after its erection is rendered down and the stone painted with the grease, the natives using crude brushes made from the *rongoza* plant. Feasting and dancing continue while the stone is being transported and raised.

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764 All the Menabe memorial stones are used as places of sacrifice, but they are never erected for the purpose of sacrificing to the gens

ancestors as a group. Each stone commemorates a single individual 769
who is invoked and sacrificed to there by his descendants. The 764
largest combined *vato lahy* and *vato vavy* in the village sacred place are, however, employed for sacrifices to the ancestors as a whole.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

PRAYER AND SACRIFICE

Prayer and sacrifice are inseparable in the native mind as all 769
dealings with the ancestral spirits are conducted strictly on a basis 782
of exchange. It is universally felt that prayer without sacrifice, or a promise to sacrifice, is useless. Moreover, the size of the sacrifice is, in general, proportional to that of the favor asked. An important request requires a large offering while a small one is enough for a small matter.

Tanala sacrifices fall into two classes: those addressed to the gods and ancestral spirits as a whole and those addressed to the spirits of individuals. The former are performed by priests or family heads and are public, the whole village, lineage, or family participating. They constitute a reaffirmation of the close bond existing between the ancestors as a whole and their descendants as a whole. The latter are performed by individuals and indicate that a relation has been established between one of the dead and one of the living. Sacrifices of this sort are usually small and are not felt to be of public interest, although anyone who wishes to may attend.

SACRIFICES TO THE ANCESTORS AS A WHOLE

Sacrifices to the ancestors as a whole fall into two classes: sacrifices performed in behalf of the whole community and sacrifices performed in behalf of individuals. The former are resorted to only in time of general calamity or to insure success in some communal undertaking, such as a war party. They are relatively infrequent. The latter are performed whenever an individual feels the need of supernatural assistance. Illness is the main cause and the one mentioned first by all informants, but such sacrifices also are made for success in business enterprises, safe return from journeys, or safe return from a war expedition.

PRIESTS.—All important sacrifices to the ancestors as a whole 793
are performed by professional priests. Less important ones are 769
made by heads of families. The priesthood seems to have been a direct outgrowth of the sacrificial functions of heads of families.

793 769 618 According to native belief each gens has arisen through the expansion of a single family (see Social Organization) which increased to a lineage, then to a village, and finally to a series of villages. At first the head of the family sacrificed to the ancestors, then, as the related group grew larger, the office became more formal and was vested in the head of the family which was in most direct line of descent from the gens ancestor, reckoning through eldest children. Finally through various causes such as settlement of part of the group at a distance, failure of the direct line, etc., the strict succession was broken down.

793 621 618 Among the Menabe at the present time every village of long standing has its priest. When a new village is founded, the priest of the parent village is expected to come to it on request and make sacrifices there. Finally, when the new village has existed for two or three generations and lost its feeling of unity with the old village, or when the priest becomes weary of making the necessary journeys, the head of the ranking family in the new village asks permission from the original priest to assume the priestly office. This then becomes hereditary in his family. There seems to be no formal investiture for a new priest, but the office cannot be assumed without the original priest's permission. In the Zafindriantrova gens the priest of the parent village is called the *Tesa Pitankazomanga*, those of the offshoot villages simply *Pitankazomanga*. The *Tesa Pitankazomanga* officiates at sacrifices in his own village and at those performed in behalf of the group of villages as a whole. The *Pitankazomanga* are considered his deputies and ask his permission when they are to perform the more important sacrifices. Most of the Menabe gentes seem to have a similar, but rather less formal organization. In general, the priest of the parent village has no real control over the priests of the younger villages and there is no central religious authority, even within the gens.

793 428 Although the priestly office remains in the family of the original priest of a village, the exact method of inheritance varies somewhat with the gens. Among the Zafindiamanana the priests are always men. The office passes, at the death of a priest, to his younger brother and thus through the whole line of brothers. At the death of the last it reverts to the eldest son of the original priest, his brothers' children being debarred even if their fathers have held the office. If the eldest child of the original priest is a girl, the office, after it has been held by her brothers in succession, reverts to her children.

Among the Zafakotry, the office may be held by either men or 793 women. The new priest is, if possible, chosen from among the 462 children of the deceased priest, but within this group the office is elective. The main requirement is a thorough knowledge of the rituals, but primogeniture seems to be important also. Thus, although men are usually preferred to women, in a choice between an eldest sister and her brothers the sister will be chosen if all are equally skillful. In the next generation, the children of the priest previously chosen will be given first consideration. This appears to be the commonest system among the Menabe, occurring in more than half of the gentes.

Priests hold office for life but, if they become old and infirm, 793 may delegate their duties to some one else. Such substitution is temporary and does not affect the inheritance of the office. A priest may appoint three or four different persons as substitutes on different occasions.

Priests wear no special costume or distinguishing mark even when officiating, but must possess certain objects which are inherited from their predecessors. These are renewed without ceremony when they have been used up or worn out. The most important of these is the *hazomanga*. The term means literally "blue wood," but blue, being the color of the sky, is used in a figurative sense to indicate good or holy. The Zafindiamanana call it *hazomanitra* ("fragrant [824] wood"). The *hazomanga* is a dry piece of the wood or bark of a tree having a strong aromatic odor, like camphor. This wood is thought to possess magical powers and only priests and *ombiasy* are allowed to keep pieces of it. Scrapings from it are used in all important sacrifices. Apparently it is considered a sort of seasoning which makes the offering more acceptable to the ancestors. The tree itself does not seem to be especially rare and is not sacred. Any one can cut it and pieces were formerly traded to the Betsileo, who have similar beliefs in regard to it. Among the Zafindiamanana only *ombiasy* may own *hazomanga*, loaning them to the priests for use in the sacrifices.

The priests also keep *olatafina* and *tanirase* or *rasorase*. The [824] *olatafina* is a species of fungus growing on dead trees. It is used in a ceremony to avoid the bad results of discarding a charm. *Tanirase* or *rasorase* is white earth, used to mark people in various ceremonies. Among the Zafakotry, and probably some other gentes, the priest also inherits a wooden bowl, used for serving the food cooked as a sacrifice, and a knife, used for scraping the *hazomanga*.

793 All priests are subject to certain *fady* ("prohibitions" or "rules of conduct") which usually extend to their families as well. The commonest of these seems to be a prohibition on eating pork.

791 OMBIASY AND THE ANCESTOR CULT.—Native medicine-men or magicians, called *ombiasy*, have been described elsewhere (see section on *Ombiasy*) and only their activities in connection with the ancestor cult will be described here. They are practitioners of divination and magic and are sharply distinguished from the priests, who do not work with either. Throughout most of Madagascar the same person may not hold both offices and if an *ombiasy* inherits a priesthood, he must give up his magical paraphernalia and practices at once. At the same time, there is no hostility between the two groups and they are not considered rivals. The *ombiasy* are thought to be more skilled than the priests in everything pertaining to the supernatural and the priests constantly consult them as to the best means for propitiating the ancestors.

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796 *Ombiasy* frequently instigate sacrifices, announcing that illness or calamity is due to offended ancestral spirits, or that the spirit of so-and-so has appeared to them and demanded an offering from some one of his descendants. They are always consulted as to the most propitious time and place for communal sacrifices and for individual sacrifices as well, if the sacrificer is rich enough to pay for their services. Among the Tanala they also act as stage managers in the more important sacrifices. This results in great variation in minor details of ceremonial procedure for, although the general pattern is always the same, the *ombiasy* is expected to change some detail each time. If he fails to do this, there seems to be a feeling of disappointment and a tendency to doubt his ability. In general, only *ombiasy* belonging to the gens are allowed to manage sacrifices, for outsiders will not be familiar with the usual ritual of the group, or with the names of its ancestors. However, if a foreign *ombiasy* of great reputation is present, he may be asked to take charge. He consults with the priest and, when the time comes to say the invocation, stands beside him and repeats the invocation with him, the priest speaking in a low voice and the *ombiasy* in a loud one. Minor priests, or those who feel uncertain of their own ability, may delegate their office to the *ombiasy* of their village, who thenceforth both direct and perform all sacrifices. The arrangement is temporary and the office reverts to the priest's family at his death.

The Tanala appear to be the only tribe in which it is permissible for an *ombiasy* to sacrifice to the ancestors, except in his own behalf

or for his immediate family. The Imerina may have been an excep- 791
tion to this rule, but accounts of the early conditions there are vague 796
and conflicting. Elsewhere, priests cannot delegate their functions 769
to *ombiasy* even temporarily. Among the western tribes, where the distinction between the two offices is most rigid, *ombiasy* may not even direct sacrifices.

SACRIFICES ON BEHALF OF THE GENS.—Among the Menabe, 618
sacrifices on behalf of the entire gens were made only in time of 782
national calamity, such as pestilence, very serious crop failure, or 778
an attack which threatened to drive the gens from its territory or subjugate it. They were performed on the tops of sacred mountains, the idea being that the worshippers were thus lifted closer to heaven and their prayers made more easily audible to the gods and ancestors. Each gens had one or more of these mountains within its territory. The Zafiakotry had three, which were the sites of three of their ancient villages, later abandoned. I could not learn whether the sacred mountains of other gentes had ever been inhabited. At present it is not taboo to visit the mountains or even to cultivate their lower slopes, but the summits are shunned as the abode of spirits. These high places are not marked by memorial stones or other permanent altars. A temporary wooden altar (see Sacrifices on Behalf of Individuals) was erected for the ceremony.

When there was more than one sacred mountain, the leading [791]
ombiasy of the gens, or some foreign *ombiasy* of great power, indicated which one should be used. He also selected the priest who was to officiate from among all those in the gens and indicated the ritual to be used, especially whether the sacrifice was to be boiled or grilled. The ritual was the same as for individual sacrifices. Apparently no sacrifices on behalf of a gens have been performed in recent times.

Sacrifices on behalf of a village or group of villages were performed [724]
before setting out on a war party. These have been described in the section on Warfare. They may have been performed on a few other occasions as well, but informants were uncertain. Since the establishment of French control they also have become obsolete.

SACRIFICES ON BEHALF OF INDIVIDUALS.—Sacrifices of this type 782
are the commonest of all Tanala ceremonies. Although they are always made on behalf of some individual, the larger and more important ones are participated in by the entire village and are felt to be a reassertion of the close relation existing between the living and the souls of their ancestors. They may be performed during

782 illness or before beginning the activity in which supernatural aid is hoped for, but are usually made after help has been received, in fulfilment of a vow.

Vows are called *tsikafara*. To make a vow is *manosora* and to fulfil one *manalasasa*. A vow may be made by any one at any time or place in case of sudden danger or other emergency, but deliberate [755] vows, especially those for the cure of illness, seem usually to be made by the village priest at the head of the sick person's bed. An ox is given to the priest by the person or his family after his recovery. Most vows are made publicly, the people of the village being called on to witness them. In the vow, the nature of the sacrifice, as a black ox, is specified and often the place where it will be performed, but there seems to be no fixed formula. All vows are rigidly fulfilled, for failure in this would result in the death of the individual and possibly the wiping out of his entire family by the enraged spirits.

Although all Tanala sacrifices conform to a general pattern there seems to be an almost infinite variation in details. Each gens has its own invocation and even different lineages within a gens may have peculiarities of procedure. From accounts of participants it seems that even two sacrifices performed by the same priest for the same purpose are rarely identical at all points. These individual variations are not due to carelessness, or to a poor development of ritual, but reflect a feeling that the circumstances surrounding two sacrifices are never the same. In approaching the gods and ancestors [777] the workings of fate must also be considered. Each day has its special significance, with favorable and unfavorable aspects (see *Vintana*, pp. 212-214) and each individual has a particular destiny. These must be taken into account to obtain results, and it is for this reason that *ombiasy* are consulted as to the best place, day and exact procedure for each sacrifice. The methods used by the *ombiasy* in determining these details are known only to themselves and the priests follow their directions blindly.

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778 In most of the Menabe gentes the sacrificial procedure is as follows: The place of sacrifice may be indicated in a vow; if not, it is chosen by an *ombiasy*. Most sacrifices are performed at the *ampisorofana*, the village sacred place, where the memorial stones to the ancestors have been erected (see Erection of Memorial Stones). These stones are set up in pairs, a flat slab resting on a tripod of small stones, called the *vato vavy* ("female stone") and a tall upright stone called the *vato lahy* ("male stone"). The *vato lahy* is erected

immediately to the east of the *vato vary*, touching its edge. Each 782
stone commemorates a different individual, but in sacrifices to the 778
ancestors as a whole the largest pair will be used.

If the regular sacred place is not used and there are no memorial stones at the place chosen, a temporary altar is built. This must be made entirely of *rotra* wood. Four posts about 3 inches in diameter and 3 feet high are planted in the form of a square with its corners northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest. In the middle of the eastern side of the square a fifth post is planted. This is somewhat thicker than the other four and about 18 inches longer and is forked at the top. The tops of the posts on the northern and southern sides are connected by crosspieces, lashed on with vines. Small, closely spaced sticks are laid across to form a table. The finished altar is 2 to 3 feet square. It is erected without special rites before the ceremony begins.

The altar, whether of wood or stone, is covered with the finest new mat obtainable. Over this is laid a layer of fresh leaves from the Traveler's Palm.

Cattle are the principal offering in all important sacrifices. The most desirable sacrifice is a fat ox. The animal is led to the place of sacrifice, thrown and tied, and laid with its head west, south or east, according to the direction of the *ombiasy*, but never north. Its throat is cut by some member of the family of the person in whose behalf the sacrifice is performed. No invocation is repeated at the killing and there seems to be no idea that the soul of the ox is sent to the ancestors. It is simply the source of the meat later offered to them. The ox may even be killed elsewhere and its meat brought to the place of sacrifice. Rum and rice are also brought to the place of sacrifice, but are of less importance than the ox.

After the ox has been killed, pieces are cut from different parts of it to make the sacrifice. The parts chosen vary somewhat in different groups and ceremonies. Among the Manandriana ten parts are taken, as follows: hump, *trafony*, breast, *lengonitratrany*, shoulder just below the hump, *manangoana*, rump, *fotopeny*, liver, *atiny*, lungs, *tsikaomy*, white intestines, *tsinainipotsiny*, kidneys, *voany*, large stomach, *tabohany*, and small stomach, *sorosorony*. Apparently most of the groups take only five: the hump, rump, liver, white intestines, and one other which is variable. The pieces to be offered are taken from the right side of the animal or organ. The head is cut off and placed on the altar at the base of the upright stone, or in the fork of the highest post. It is laid with the nose

782 west and its horns are decorated with silver bracelets and chains. 778 The rest of the animal is then cut up and part of the meat is usually put to boil, while the rest is laid aside to be distributed at the close of the ceremony. Rice is cooked at the same time, in preparation for the feast which usually concludes the proceedings.

782 793 All the Menabe have two methods of offering the sacrifice, called *tsemoka* and *sorono*. Either method may be used, on the advice of the *ombiasy*, but some families normally employ one, some the other. In the Zafindiamanana gens the *tsemoka* ceremony is as follows:

While the sacrificial parts are being cut, a fire is kindled to the west of the altar, without ceremony. The sacrificial parts are laid on the coals or grilled on a long iron fork with three or five tines. As soon as they have been placed on the fire, the person on whose behalf the sacrifice is made and his family take up a position to the west of the fire, facing the altar. They stand and remove their hats. The priest stands in front of them, also facing the altar, with the *hazomanga* in his left hand and the sacred knife in his right. He holds the *hazomanga* pointing eastward and upward and scrapes it three times, counting "One, two, three" in a loud voice. After the third stroke he calls out: "*Zanahary*, give us life." He then begins again and scrapes and counts up to six, calling after the sixth stroke: "*Zanahary*, give us life and health." *Telo* and *enina*, the native words for three and six are, by a pun, supposed to signify life and health respectively.

After scraping the *hazomanga* the priest looks upward and repeats the invocation in a high, shrill voice. That used when sacrificing for a sick person is as follows: "Listen, listen, *Zanahary* male, *Zanahary* female, Rangidana, Rantimoa, the sun, Beeronerona, Rangamina, Andrangofalafa, Madiovazankobo, Tsimangano nahananga, the moon, the sun, and stars. [Note: The sun is invoked twice, once by its ceremonial name, once by the ordinary name.] See, you others who are in the sky! Man is blood which you have made solid and to which you have given life and intelligence. You have advised: 'If there is anything which grieves you or gives you joy, come and let us know.' Well, so-and-so is sick and the *ombiasy* has found by divination that you, *Zanahary*, demand an ox. Observe there the sacrificial parts [names of these repeated]. Eat well in our presence, then cure this sick person to the bottom."

After the invocation everyone remains perfectly quiet for about five minutes, then the priest says: "You, *Zanahary*, do not take long to eat. Mount again by the golden rope and place yourselves

on the golden seats, from which you watch us to give us life." There 782
is then a pause of two or three minutes to allow the gods to depart. 793

When the gods have gone, the priest calls out: "We call you 782
equally, oh ancestors [calling by their life names all the ancestors he 793
knows and also naming five or six tombs where the bodies of ancestors 769
are or have been buried], for it is you who have brought us into the world, exalted ones. You have gone where you are changed into *Zanahary*. So-and-so is sick and the *ombiasy* has found by divination that you demand an ox. Observe there the sacrificial parts [names of these repeated]. Eat well in our presence and cure this sick person thoroughly. Free him of all his pains. If some one of you, oh ancestors, is sick and therefore absent, take him part of the food." The ancestors are allowed about twenty minutes to eat and then the priest dismisses them.

When the priest finishes speaking, the small boys, six to eight 782
years old, scramble for the grilled meat and each one can eat the 793
piece he gets. This meat is simply the scraps left by the gods and ancestors. After this the whole company feasts on the boiled meat and rice or, if no feast has been prepared, the meat of the ox is divided and all disperse. The lungs are given to the priest.

In the *sorona* ceremony of this gens the ox is killed either at the sacred place or in the village. The sacred parts are put to cook in a new earthen pot and rice is boiled in another. While it is cooking the rest of the animal is divided and those who have both parents living can cook and begin to eat their share at once. Orphans, on the other hand, can not take their share of the meat until the sacrifice has been made. When the food is cooked, a wooden bowl is partly filled with rice, with a heap of boiled meat on top. This is taken to the place of sacrifice and laid on the altar. The person in whose behalf the sacrifice is made seats himself to the west of the altar, facing it, and the priest stands behind him, also facing it. The priest scrapes the *hazomanga*, as already described, and repeats the following invocation: "Listen, listen, we call you *Zanahary*, *Zanahary* male and female, Rangidana, Beeror erona, Rantimoa, the sun, Andrangofalafa, Madiovazankoho, the moon, the stars, water, earth, and the twelve mountains." He then explains the reason for the sacrifice, ending with: "Here are pieces of all the parts of the ox. Eat them and bless us." After a few minutes' silence he says: "The gods do not take long to eat. You have now eaten. Return to your place in the sky by the golden chain and sleep in the sky. From there send us blessings and give us life."

782 769 793 When the gods have gone, the priest calls the ancestors, first calling by their life names all the ancestors of the person giving the sacrifice, then all the known ancestors of the village and gens, and lastly giving a general invitation to all souls between the sea and *Ampatrana* (the mountains which form the western boundary of the Tanala territory). He explains the reason for the sacrifice and asks them to eat, using the same formula as for the gods. About twenty minutes of silence follow, then he tells them to return to their place as the family is about to eat. After this everyone feasts, eating even the food from the altar.

782 769 Apparently the differences between the two invocations are not directly connected with the form of the ceremony. The form is varied to suit the sacrifice, on the advice of the *ombiasy*.

In most of the other Menabe gentes the procedure for the *tsemoka* is practically the same as that given. The *sorona*, on the other hand, is rather more elaborate. The ox is killed at the place of sacrifice and its meat boiled in a new pot on a special fire to the west of the altar. The invocations do not begin until the offering has been arranged on the altar. Rice is boiled at the same time as the meat, but on a different fire. When both are done, the rice is ladled out with a very large wooden spoon (Fig. 23, a). Seven piles of rice are made on the altar at equal intervals, each pile containing three spoonfuls. Three piles are arranged across the back of the altar, three across its center, and one in front. A hollow is made in the top of each pile with the sacrificial ladle, and this is filled with meat and broth. The three piles at the rear of the altar are for the ancestors of highest rank, the three center piles for ordinary ancestors, and the single pile for the souls of *ndevo* ancestors. If the altar is small only four piles are made, three in the rear for important ancestors and one in front for all other ghosts.

782 769 793 In the Manandriana gens the procedure for the *sorona* is as follows: The sacrificer and his family stand or sit to the west of the altar with the priest standing in front. The priest scrapes the *hazomanga* as described. He then makes the following invocation: "Listen, listen, *Zanahary* male, Andiodotra, Vorombetsivazana, Andranofalafa, and Madiovazankoho. You are called because so-and-so is sick [or because he has made a vow, repeating vow and circumstances]. Because of this we give you a sacrifice." After a few minutes of silence the priest says: "The *Zanahary* do not ask much time to eat. Return to your place, mounting by the chain of gold and the rope of silver. Return to the place in the sky where

you live, for we are going to call the ancestors also." One priest explained the reference to the gold chain and silver rope by saying that, as the sky was high, the gods must have some means of going up and down and, since they were gods, everything belonging to them would be of precious metal. 769 782 793

After the gods have been sent back the priest calls the ancestors of the person sacrificing by name, but not the ancestors in collateral lines. He explains the reason for the sacrifice and invites them to eat. The whole company then keeps silence for about half an hour. At the end of this the priest says: "We called you because [again reciting reason]. Now that you have eaten, return to your place, for we are going to eat in our turn." The relatives then eat all the rice and meat which has been cooked, including most of the sacrifice. If the *ombiasy* has advised the offering of rum, a little of it is placed in a bamboo which is planted in the ground to the east of the altar. The rest is drunk. At the close of the ceremony it is customary to leave a little meat and rice on the altar, but the priest takes the mat which has lain under the sacrifice. This, with the heart of the ox and 1.25 francs in money, constitutes his pay for performing the ceremony. The *ombiasy* who has directed it receives the head and right fore foot as his pay.

The Zafiakotry, one of the subdivisions of the Manandriana, had a slightly different method of arranging the *sorona* offering. This group originally used only upright memorial stones about as tall as a man. When the offering was ready, equal portions were put in two wooden bowls. One of these was placed on top of the stone, the other on the ground. The lower one was set on a new mat to the east of the stone. The bowl on the stone was for the gods, that on the ground for the ancestors. The *tsemoka* rite was never performed at the sacred stones. If performed in the village, both the *sorona* and *tsemoka* were usually held indoors, either in the house of the person in whose behalf the offering was made, or in the *trano be* ("public house of the village"), if the sacrificer belonged to the same lineage as the village chief. At present they use stone tables, but continue to make the bulk of their sacrifices indoors.

The invocation and general procedure was the same as for the rest of the Manandriana. My informant for this group, who was himself a priest, told me that he had been interested in the attributes of the gods named in the invocation and had tried to learn something about them from the other priests and from old people. No one

769 could tell him anything and he concluded that they must be members
782 of *Zanahary lahy's* (*Zanahary* the male's) family.

793 In the Zafindriantrova gens stone tables are employed for sacrifices at the sacred place, but all but the most important offerings are made in the dwelling of the village priest, or in that of the person responsible for the offering. The ox is killed to the east of the house and the meat and rice cooked on the regular fireplace. In the *sorona* rite a mat is laid on the floor in the sacred northeast corner of the house, with a covering of Traveler's Palm leaves. Six piles of rice and meat are made on this in two rows, as on the altar. Southwest of this leaves are laid, but no mat, and a single pile is made for the *ndevo* and strange ghosts.

The sacrificer scrapes the *hazomanga* only three times, with the usual counting and invocation. He then addresses the spirits as follows: "Sambatsinana. Antsinanana firy razana. Mangaiky anao, *Zanahary; Zanahary lahy, Zanahary vavy*, Rangidina, Andriananatomoa, Madiovazankoho, Beerongeronga, Vorombetsivazana, Andranofalafa, Avia fahisaofana. Mandroronga amny tady volomena mipetraka aminy farafara vola." "Hail [or salute] to the East. In the East there are many ancestors. You are being called *Zanahary* male, *Zanahary* female, etc. Come for we wish to offer you a sacrifice. Descend by the golden cord and sit upon the bed of silver." The reason of the sacrifice is then explained and the gods invited to eat. After a short pause the ancestors are called and allowed about twenty minutes to eat, after which the gods and ancestors are sent back together. The priest who was my informant for this gens had also made inquiries as to the nature of the gods, but could learn nothing.

782 In all the gentes the less important sacrifices are made by the
head of the family in the sacred northeast corner of the house. Most
596 of the gentes use a small hanging altar which is almost identical
769 with the frames used for smoking fish (Fig. 3, c). This is covered with a mat and leaves, but usually only one pile of food is made. The head of the house invokes *Zanahary* and the ancestors simultaneously, repeating no individual names, and the whole procedure is rather informal. The frequency of small family sacrifices varies with the customs of the group and the piety of the individual. Many families make an offering at every meal, placing a few grains of rice on the altar or simply throwing a little of the food toward the east.

178 No rituals or eyewitness accounts of sacrifices among the Tanala
782 Ikongo were obtained. Apparently there are no village sacred places.

Their memorial stones are erected anywhere and are not used for 778
sacrifices to the ancestors as a whole. Many of their sacrifices are 782
made at pointed wooden posts, about 5 feet high and 3 inches in diameter. Numbers of these posts are to be seen in their villages. In some cases each family has one or more, erected to the east of the dwelling. Apparently both the *tsemoka* and *sorona* rites are employed, but I was unable to learn whether temporary altars were built, how the offerings were arranged, etc. The sacrifices are performed by hereditary priests under the direction of *ombiasy*, as among the Menabe.

SACRIFICES TO INDIVIDUAL SPIRITS

Sacrifices to individual spirits seem to be fairly common among 782
the Menabe, although they are of less importance than those made 769
to the ancestors as a whole. Apparently the Ikongo have similar ideas and practices, but no exact information could be obtained. The Menabe honor both ancestral and non-ancestral spirits.

Sacrifices to individual ancestors may be made because the 782
ghost has demanded them, to placate a malicious or offended ghost, 769
or in fulfilment of a vow. In general, the appearance of an ancestor 787
in a dream or vision is interpreted as a demand for a sacrifice. If the apparition has not made its wishes known, the person who has seen it will consult an *ombiasy* as to the sort of sacrifice required,
the proper place, etc. *Ombiasy* are believed to be in close touch [191]
with the ancestral spirits, who visit them from time to time and, through them, demand sacrifices from specified descendants. After such a visit, the *ombiasy* notifies the victim, who is bound to comply with the demand, under penalty of sickness or other misfortune. Persons bilked in this way often grumble and may even ask the ghost for a postponement, but they do not seem to doubt the genuineness of the communication. The belief offers a good opportunity for blackmail and one informant remarked cynically that it seemed to be only the ancestors of the rich who demanded sacrifices through *ombiasy*. The *ombiasy* may also decide, by divination, that an illness, or persistent ill fortune, is due to the malevolent activity of a special ghost and advise that a sacrifice be made to placate it.

Vows to individual ancestors are commonest in time of sudden 782
danger. They arise from a feeling that a close relative, as a father 769
or grandfather, will be more attentive and helpful than the ancestors as a whole. The greatest vow is that to erect a memorial stone, because of the expense involved. Informants knew only one instance of such a promise. Commonly an ox is vowed.

782 769 If the ancestor to whom the sacrifice is made has a memorial stone the sacrifice will normally be made there. The fat of the ox may be rendered down and smeared on the stone, but the Menabe seem to regard this as an innovation. If there is no stone, the *ombiasy* is consulted for the most propitious place. The southern gentes of the Menabe have, in addition to memorial stones, wooden posts which are set up in their villages. These are called *vato lahy hazo* (lit. "wooden memorial stones") or *teza*. They are erected for sacrifices to individual ancestors, although two or three ancestors may be commemorated by a single post. The posts are the property of individual families and are usually planted east of the dwelling.

[793] If an ox is sacrificed, the regular priest is employed and the ritual, except for the invocation, is identical with that used for sacrifices to the ancestors as a whole. In the invocation the priest calls first on *Zanahary*, then on the ancestor who is being honored, and lastly on the other ancestors. If the offering is less than an ox, the sacrifice is performed by the person himself and only *Zanahary* and the special ancestor are invoked.

Sacrifices to non-ancestral spirits are of two sorts, those made in acknowledgment of their claim to certain localities and those made to obtain their help. If a man desires to cultivate a patch of land on which there is a memorial stone, he must first sacrifice an ox to the individual whom it commemorates.

Sacrifices to obtain help are based on the belief that certain souls are possessed of more than ordinary power. An old man or woman will frequently announce that he or she will answer prayers after death. The promise is made repeatedly and publicly and there appears to be a set formula, ending with the proviso, "I will do this if what the ancestors [or the *ombiasy*] have said is true." In the promise the person specifies what shall be offered to him. One old woman requested snuff of a special kind and an old man *voampoa* and *ancmamy*, vegetables of which he was especially fond. In nearly all cases the promise is to respond to prayers for a single purpose, as success in business, safe return from journeys, offspring, etc.

After the death of the person a memorial stone is erected to him and anyone, related or not, may repair to it to vow and pray to him. If the first few requests are not granted, the people conclude that the ghost lacks power and pay no more attention to it. If, on the other hand, the prayers are granted, a regular cult may develop, and the worship may continue for several generations.

It is thought that the souls of such persons reside in their memorial 782
stones. The suppliant approaches the stone and slaps it several 769
times with his open hand, to awaken the spirit. If he does this properly, his request is sure to be granted. He then says: "Listen, listen, so-and-so. I am going on a journey [giving details of his route, etc.]. If I come back safe and the trip is a success, I will bring here and sacrifice to you so much honey [or snuff, rum, etc.]." When the prayer has been granted, the vower makes the offering himself, with no ceremony except a second awakening of the spirit and a brief announcement.

OMBIASY

The term *ombiasy* signifies a medicine-man or magician. The 756
Menabe recognize two main classes, *ombiasy manangatra* and *om-* 791
biasy mpsikidy. The latter are divided into *ombiasy ndolo* and *ombiasy nkazo*. All the types of *ombiasy* include both men and women. Men are more numerous, but some of the most famous are women.

The *ombiasy manangatra* are spiritualist mediums. They are 756
usually marked by some slight mental or nervous abnormality. No special training is required and they begin practicing as soon as they become conscious of their powers. Their main activity is the discovery of the cause of illness and the means for curing it. Informants thought that they might be appealed to in other matters, but could give no instances.

Seances are held in the *ombiasy's* house, always at night. The 755
ombiasy spreads a mat in the northeast corner of the house, placing 787
on it a bottle of rum and certain charms. He sits beside it or lies on it. Sometimes both *ombiasy* and mat are covered with a tent-like mosquito net of raffia cloth. This tent is about 5 feet high and comes down to the floor, giving complete concealment. The sick person and his relatives seat themselves on the floor, apparently without any fixed order, and the fire and all lights are extinguished. The people begin clapping and singing softly. After a time a knocking is heard on the walls, or voices are heard repeating: "We have come. We have come." There are sometimes as many as ten or twelve spirits, distinguishable by their different voices. The voices are nasal and seem to come from the east or west of the *ombiasy*, sometimes high, sometimes low, but never far from him. The head of the family, or the sick person, then tells the spirits why they have been called. After this the *ombiasy* explains the situation fully and

755 the spirits tell the cause of the illness and the medicine to be given,
787 always speaking. If the sick person is not present, the *ombiasy* tells the spirits to go and look at him, and he will be conscious of cold hands touching him all over. After answering the questions, the spirits drink the rum, dance and sing. The dancing and singing are accompanied by rhythmic rappings on the floor and walls, but always near the *ombiasy*. If a great deal of rum has been provided the spirits may pass it around to the living after they have drunk all they wish. If there is a doubter present they will seize his wrist when he reaches out for the cup. Finally they say they are tired and must go, and troop off noisily. The spirits are the souls of ancestors, but no individuals can be identified.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of this belief is the large number of natives who are, or have been, skeptical as to the authenticity of the phenomena. I found this quite common among persons who had had little or no contact with outsiders and am convinced that it is not due to European influence. It is reflected in the general attitude toward the *ombiasy manangatra*, who rank far below the *ombiasy mpsikidy* in popular estimation. Several informants declared flatly that the seances were faked and that the *ombiasy* produced the voices, etc., himself. Others had been skeptical, but had been convinced by personal knowledge of cures or by having felt the spirit hands during seances. The stories told by the latter were curiously similar to our own spiritualists' accounts of ectoplasm. They said that the hands of the spirits were strong but so soft that they seemed boneless and that their flesh was moist, excessively cold, and had a different texture from human skin.

787 Within the last twenty-five or thirty years another type of *ombiasy manangatra* has come into existence. At one end of most Tanala houses there is a shelf or partial ceiling which forms a dark loft about 8 feet deep and 6 feet above the floor. The practitioner places a mat here with charms on it and the spirits come and rest on it. The spirits whistle or make cheeping noises when persons enter the house. If the intruder is frightened or runs away the *ombiasy* reassures him and tells him that it is only the spirits asking who has come. He puts questions to them and interprets their whistling answers. They are present both day and night. Apparently *ombiasy ndolo* are beginning to adopt this trick. It is said to be of foreign
[177] origin but I know of nothing like it among the neighboring tribes. Intelligent natives are even more skeptical of it than of the regular seances.

Although the *ombiasy mpsikidy* may perform certain functions in 791 connection with the cult of the dead, their main activities are in connection with divination, the manufacture of charms, etc. While the priests direct their activities toward placating and con- [793] trolling Beings, whether Deities or ghosts, the *ombiasy mpsikidy* specialize in forecasting and controlling the operations of Fate. Even when they are in close touch with spirits, they do not control their ghostly advisers, but simply act as their mouthpieces. The controls rarely demand anything for themselves. They simply know what will happen and tell the *ombiasy*.

Ombiasy mpsikidy are divided into *ombiasy ndolo* and *ombiasy nkazo*. The two groups perform identical functions, but derive their magical abilities from different sources.

Ombiasy ndolo (lit. "spirit *ombiasy*") are under the control of some individual ghost, although it seems that a few may have more than one ghostly adviser. The ghost is usually that of an ancestor, commonly one who has himself been an *ombiasy*. The spirit selects the person and notifies him that he has been chosen by a dream or vision. If the person is reluctant to accept the appointment, which is not infrequent, the ghost may desist. However, if it appears a second time and repeats the demand, the person must obey, on pain of death. Apparently the ghost visits the *ombiasy* at will and is dominating rather than dominated. At first it makes its will known through dreams, later, as the *ombiasy* becomes more accustomed to it, it will speak to him while he is awake and engaged in ordinary activities. Apparently some practitioners of this class do have auditory halluci- [158] nations and are convinced of the genuineness of the control. The spirits will often notify them in advance when their services will be required, so that they will have the medicine or the charm ready when the person comes to ask for it. They cure the sick, make charms, direct ceremonies, etc., like other *ombiasy*, but most of them do not use mechanical means of divination, relying on their controls for information. Although most of them are considered slightly inferior [554] to the *ombiasy nkazo*, exceptional ones are accorded the highest rank of all by the natives.

Ombiasy nkazo (lit. "wood *ombiasy*") are far more numerous than all the others put together. They do not claim spirit control and, while the others are often nervously or mentally abnormal, they are, with few exceptions, thoroughly normal and above the average in mentality. All those with whom I became personally acquainted showed an unusual degree of shrewdness and common sense and had

791 entered the profession deliberately. Although they made their activities as mysterious as possible, to impress the uninitiated, their own attitude toward their work seemed to me to be sane and almost scientific. They practiced some deliberate trickery and sleight of hand, but were sincere in their belief in the efficacy of their charms and divination and were on the lookout for anything which would increase their efficiency. On occasion, they experimented with new charms and remedies and when established ones failed they ascribed it to error of some sort rather than malevolent counter activity. Although they never confessed their mistakes to their patients and were extraordinarily clever at shifting the blame for failure to them, they seemed to admit their errors to themselves. After many discussions with them I was convinced that they were no more conservative or self-assured than the average European doctor of a hundred years ago.

The profession of *ombiasy nkazo* is open to any free person, and is selected by bright young men in much the same spirit that one of us would enter medicine or the law. The aspirant goes to an *ombiasy* of established reputation and asks to be instructed, paying him an initial fee of 0.20 franc. Each piece of instruction is then paid for separately. The first thing learned is the *sikidy*, a mechanical method of divination. When this has been mastered the student pays his [177] instructor 5.00 francs. He then learns the calendar of lucky and unlucky days, or some other method of determining whether a given day is propitious. The fee for this and the subsequent items is fixed by bargaining, while that for the *sikidy* is constant. When the calendar has been learned, the student buys directions for making a number of charms for various purposes, paying for them piece by piece. When he thinks his repertoire is large enough, he leaves his teacher and sets up as an independent practitioner. There is nothing in the nature of an examination and no final fee. It is considered etiquette for the new *ombiasy* to make a substantial present to his teacher when he has become well established, but this is not obligatory. An ambitious man continues his education throughout life, visiting other *ombiasy* to learn charms and remedies which have proved unusually effective. All agreed that there was no one *ombiasy* in the tribe who knew all charms and medicines.

The *ombiasy* are not organized and each one guards his own secrets, sometimes to the extent of refusing to sell. There is little professional etiquette, patients breaking off relations with one *ombiasy* and going to another at will. At the same time, there seems to be little real

competition. There is usually only one *ombiasy* in a village and never 791
more than two. I could learn of no case in which two *ombiasy* had pitted themselves against each other, at least publicly.

Even in the old days of constant intertribal warfare there were 791
a few foreign *ombiasy* operating among the Tanala. Most of these
belonged to the Antaimorona tribe, which still enjoys a great reputa- 177
tion for magic. They are said to have been responsible for the introduction of a regular calendar of lucky and unlucky days. The foreigners were looked up to and could command higher fees for both services and instruction than the native trained men. They were especially in demand when a new village was to be founded. By similar reasoning, Tanala *ombiasy* who had settled among the Betsileo were thought superior by that tribe.

ACTIVITIES OF THE OMBIASY

DIVINATION

Divination is probably the most important of all the *ombiasy's* 787
activities, for it is the prerequisite for nearly all the others. By means
of it the *ombiasy* discovers the cause of illness, the hazards which 155
will attend a journey or business enterprise, the chances of a person in love, etc., and deduces which remedy or charm will prove most effective under the circumstances.

The Tanala word for divination of all sorts is *sikidy*, a term applied to both the process and the mechanical means used. The Ikongo practice three forms, divination by water, divination by sand, and divination by seeds. The Menabe say that only divination by seeds is native and very few of their *ombiasy* know any other form. Haruspication is altogether lacking and there is no real divination from the flight of birds, etc., although certain acts of birds and animals are considered ominous.

Divination by water is rare and has apparently been borrowed from the southeast coast tribes in very recent times. Water is put in a clear glass bottle, shaken vigorously and then held up and examined. Some practitioners do not look directly at the bottle but study its reflection in a small mirror. The answer is deduced from the movement of the water, its cloudiness, the way in which sediment collects, etc. Apparently each practitioner has his own rules.

In divination by sand, a thin layer of dry sand, usually black, is spread smoothly over a wooden tray. The operator makes marks at random with a small stick, or his finger, and studies the resulting patterns. I was unable to learn the rules, but suspect that it has a

787 definite arithmetical basis. It is a rare form and has been borrowed
755 from the southeast coast tribes. These tribes probably borrowed it from the Arabs, whose influence is strong there.

Divination by seeds is by far the commonest and is known to all *ombiasy*. There are two forms, one relatively simple, which the Tanala claim is aboriginal, and one complex. The latter is unquestionably of Arab origin. It is commonly used by the Ikongo, but few Menabe *ombiasy* are familiar with it.

In the simpler form of seed divination, the seeds of a tree called *rahiaka* are used. These seeds are about 5/8 inch long by 3/8 inch wide. The color is a medium brown and they acquire a high polish with use. There are usually about fifty seeds in a set, although it is forbidden for the *ombiasy* ever to count them or know the exact number. They are kept in a small bag, or a little bottle-shaped basket with a long neck and a cap-like cover (Fig. 23, b). The top of the cover is often woven in the shape of a hand or in some other fanciful form. Rarely the seeds are kept in a small gourd or a wooden box similar to those for fire making sets. A quartz crystal and a piece of *hazomanga* wood are always kept in the basket with the seeds and some *ombiasy* add other objects as well. The crystal is believed to make the *sikidy* see more clearly, while the *hazomanga* strengthens it and is also used in divination for sickness.

In divining, the *ombiasy* pours out the seeds in a pile on a mat and mixes them gently with his hands, repeating the following invocation: "Rise up, *Alanana*. [This is an archaic Tanala name for this form of divination. It is no longer used except in the ritual.] While you were on the tree you were not eaten by the lemurs and on the ground you were not devoured by the wild boars. You are the son of the sister of *Zanahary*. I am the son of the sister of man. You sleep in a basket and I sleep on a mat. Your dreams are not my dreams and my dreams are not your dreams. Rise, a sick person has come. Say what is the cause of the evil."

After this, the *ombiasy* takes a handful of seeds at random and begins to take the seeds away in groups of three. The remainder, one, two or three seeds, is laid in a pile on the mat. The process is then repeated and the next remainder laid to the right of the first. This continues until eight piles have been laid out in a row. The *ombiasy* then takes the crystal and lays it between the fourth and fifth piles, with its long axis at right angles to the row. He then begins a new row, laying the first pile below pile 8 and continuing to the left until sixteen piles have been made.

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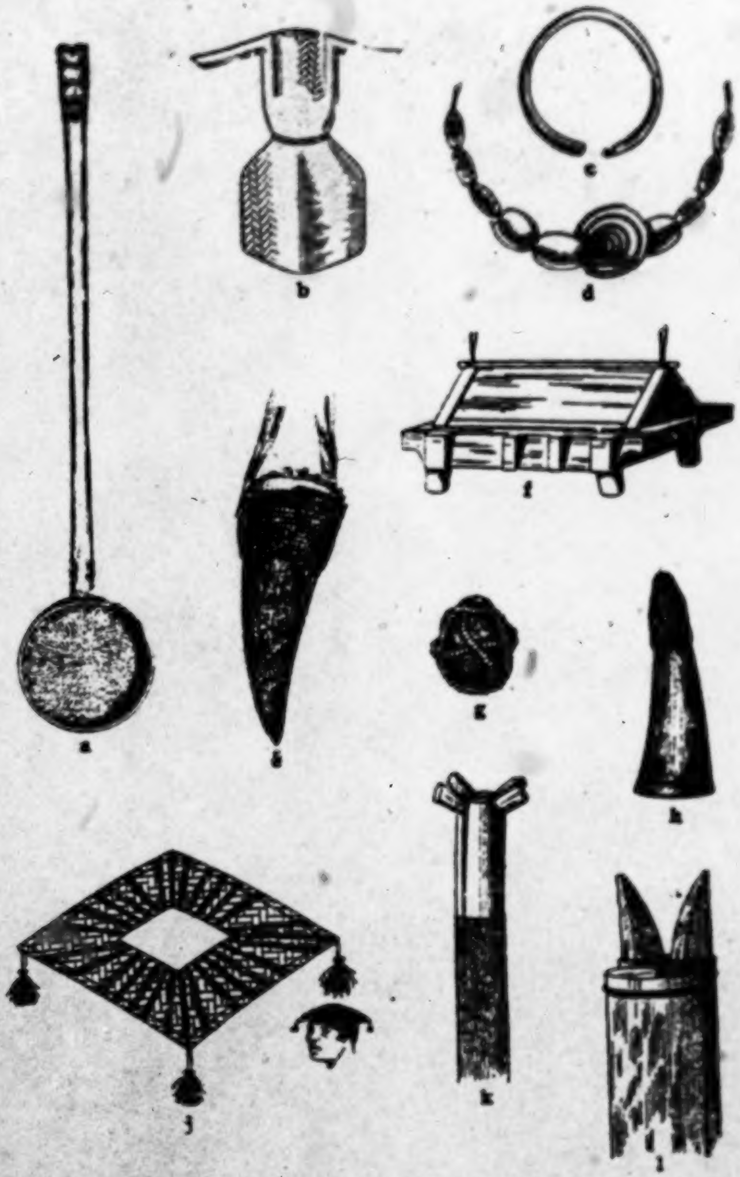

FIG. 23. Ceremonial Objects. a, Sacrificial Ladle; b, Basket for Divining Set; c, Charm Bracelet; d, Charm Necklace; e, Charm for General Good Fortune; f, Charm in Form of Coffin; g, Charm for Good Health; h, Cupping Horn; j, Hat of *Salamanga*; k, Post for Sacrifice of First Rice (*jaotra*); l, Post for Circumcision Sacrifice.

787 765 When the figure has been completed, the sick person stands or sits facing the east and holds out his hands side by side, the palms upward and slightly cupped. The *ombiasy* scrapes dust from the *hazomanga* into his hands, or pours into them water with which the dust has been mixed. The person then prays: "Oh *Zanahary*, I beg pardon of you with both hands, holding the *hazomanga*. Be so good as to pardon me and cure me, for I ask this of you with the *hazomanga* in my hands." After this the *ombiasy* interprets the figure. A relative may act as proxy if the sick person is unable to be present.

Each of the sixteen positions in the figure has a name and significance, as follows:

1. *Taley*: "First" or "head," represents the head of the family.
2. *Mady*: "Wealth" or "medicine," sense of something good.
3. *Fahatelo*: "Third," significance of a relative of the sick person.
4. *Bilady*: "Land," "country," or "native place."
5. *Fianahana*: "Children."
6. *Abidy*: "Old woman."
7. *Betsimishe*: "Wife."
8. *Fahavalo*: "Enemy," also used in the sense of the illness.
9. *Fahasivy*: "Ancestors."
10. *Ombiasy*: The person who has made the *sikidy*.
11. *Haza*: "Food."
12. *Andriamanitra* (or *Zanahary*): "God."
13. *Sholtana*: "Very old person."
14. *Shedy*: "Young person."
15. *Safary*: "Road" or "journey."
16. *Trano*: "House," also used in sense of home or dwelling.

The number of seeds in each pile is also significant. One seed is called *Tareky* ("one only"). It indicates weakness. Two seeds are *Asimbola*, name of a month. This is the most favorable arrangement. Three seeds are *Alakarabo*, also the name of a month. It indicates strength but also that there will be difficulties.

In interpreting the *sikidy* one position is taken as representing the person on whose behalf the divination is made. If it is a man, this position will be *Taley* (1); if a woman, *Betsimishe* (7); if an old woman, *Abidy* (6); if a child, *Fianahana* (5), etc. The *ombiasy* observes the number of seeds in this position, then deduces the result from this and from the other positions in which the same number of seeds occur.

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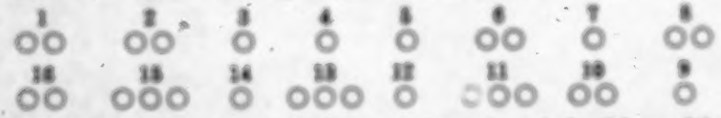
Let us suppose that a sick man has come to ask the cause and cure of his illness and the figure has come out as follows:

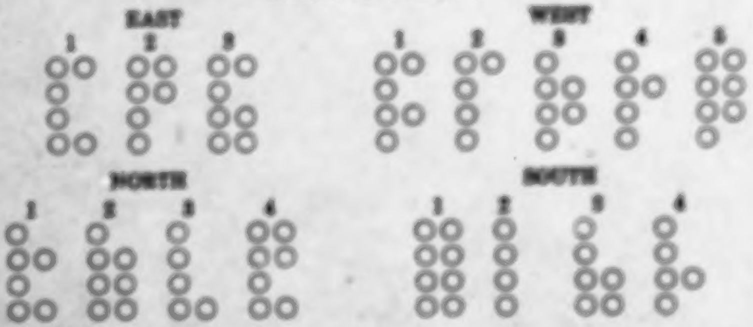


Tairy (1) is taken as the key. The number of seeds in this position is *Asimbola*, a favorable sign indicating that the cure will not be difficult. The same sign occurs in the positions *Aody* ("medicine"), *Abidy* ("old woman"), *Fahavalo* ("enemy"), *Ombiasy* ("doctor"), and *Trano* ("house"). The arrangement would be interpreted to mean that the sickness has been caused by an old woman who is an enemy and has secreted a charm in the house. It can be cured by medicine administered by the *ombiasy*. The interpretation is always by a similar association of ideas. If seeds of the same number as the key appear in a position which seems to have no bearing on the question, they may be ignored.

In the more complicated seed *sikidy* any sort of grain may be used. After an invocation, which was not obtained, the operator takes a handful of the seeds and draws them aside two at a time, putting the remainder (one or two) in the upper right hand corner of a square figure. He repeats this until he has made a vertical line of four places, then begins another vertical line to the left of the first and continues until there are four lines. The completed figure contains eight lines, four vertical and four horizontal.

The arrangement of seeds in each line has a special significance. There are sixteen possible groupings of combinations of one and two in four places. These groupings are arranged in four divisions which are known as *trano* (lit. "houses"). Each *trano* is named after one of the cardinal points.

THE FOUR TRANO



755 The names and meanings of the figures in the divisions are as
787 follows:

EASTERN TRANO, *Tandinana*

1. *Alitsimoa.*—This sign has power to keep in their place enemies or robbers. It is a strong agent.
2. *Dabara.*—Significance same as above, but less strong.
3. *Alahamora.*—Significance same as above, but it is feeble and a sign of decadence.

WESTERN TRANO, *Tsikondarifana*

1. *Alahotsa.*—Sign of coolness or good health. It is also called *sikidy manintsy* ("cool sikidy"). It is always favorable.
2. *Alikaosy.*—Sign of death or other great evil. If the *sikidy* is made for an illness, the sick person will die.
3. *Alikola.*—Sign of a sickness called *hanam-boky*, caused by eating food offered by a married person who has committed adultery. The stomach swells. To cure it the guilty one confesses and draws a vertical line on the victim's stomach with white earth.
4. *Alakarabo.*—Sign of cries of pleasure or joy or of an illness called *birike*, which makes one weep. (This sign was formerly counted as 4 in the eastern *trano*, but was ill-treated and changed to the western *trano*. Some practitioners still place it in the eastern *trano*. In that house it is feeble and a sign of decadence.)
5. *Alikisy.*—Sign of good news. An enemy has been defeated, a girl will accept you as lover, etc.

NORTHERN TRANO, *Anianaraina*

1. *Adalo.*—Sign of glory or that one will occupy a place of honor.
2. *Alimiza.*—Foretells the possession of many oxen or other wealth, or indicates that one will be honored by the king.
3. *Karija.*—A very good sign. One will get everything one wants.
4. *Alibeavo.*—Sign that one will be protected from ghosts.

SOUTHERN TRANO, *Aniasimo*

1. *Asombola.*—Sign of alarm and burning.
2. *Tareke.*—Sign that one is loved by women and has fallen into complete indolence.
3. *Alahasady.*—Sign of the hunt. One will kill game or succeed in enterprises.
4. *Alikasajy.*—Sign of a slave, also of a short alarm, or a combat which begins and ends suddenly.

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The position of each line in the figure also has a special significance. Let us suppose that the following figure has been formed:

1	2	3	4	
O	OO	O	O	5
OO	O	OO	O	6
O	O	OO	OO	7
OO	OO	O	OO	8

The meaning of the position is as follows:

1. Earth.
2. Brother.
3. Goods or wealth.
4. Chief (represents the person for whom divination is made).
5. Child.
6. Servant or slave.
7. Woman.
8. Enemy.

The arrangements in the horizontals are read from left to right.

In interpreting the figure position 4 is taken as the key. The significance of the arrangement is first noted by the *ombiasy* and then the figure is consulted to see whether the same arrangement occurs in any other position. If so, this position will be of the greatest importance. If there is no agreement of this sort, as in the example given, one notes the arrangements which fall in the same *trano* as the arrangement in the key position. In this case the arrangement in the key position is *Alahasade*, No. 3 in the southern *trano*. The only other arrangement belonging to the same *trano* is *Alikasajy* (No. 4) which occurs in horizontal 5. The figure reads "successful hunt" in the key position and "slave" or "short combat" in the child position. This will be interpreted by the *ombiasy* in the light of the question. The signs are neither very good nor very bad.

After the first reading, a second figure is formed as follows: Two arrangements are compared place by place. If the sum of the seeds in the two places is even, two seeds are put in this place in the new row. If the sum is odd, one seed is put in the place. Thus:

O		OO		O
OO	Combined with	O	Gives	O
O		O		OO
O		OO		O

In the new figure there are eight groupings. The example shown here is derived from the figure previously given.

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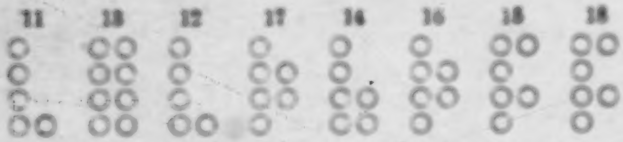

The new groupings are formed by combining the original groupings as follows:

Groups in positions 7 and 8 give group in position 11
" " " 5 " 6 " " " " 12
" " " 11 " 12 " " " " 13
" " " 1 " 2 " " " " 14
" " " 3 " 4 " " " " 15
" " " 14 " 15 " " " " 16
" " " 13 " 16 " " " " 17
" " " 17 " 4 " " " " 18

The positions in the new figure have the following meanings:

11. Spirit or ghost.
12. Food.
13. *Ombiasy* (the practitioner himself).
14. Father.
15. Road.
16. Mother, or reunion.
17. God.
18. House or home.

The new figure is compared with the *trano* given by position 4 in the original figure and groupings not in this *trano* are ignored. In the example only one position and grouping are significant: *Asimbola* (1 in south *trano*), which means alarm or burning. It occurs in position 13, representing the practitioner. It reinforces the "short combat" significance of the grouping in position 5 in the original figure.

Interpretation is by association of ideas. Apparently there is some variation in the practice of different *ombiasy*. Although the names of the groupings are always the same, the significances may vary somewhat. The methods of combining to give the second figure are also somewhat variable. In most of the tribes which use this method these features appear to be stereotyped and I suspect that the Tanala variations are due to an imperfect knowledge of the system.

DETERMINATION OF LUCKY AND UNLUCKY DAYS

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One of the main duties of the *ombiasy* is to determine propitious days for sacrifices, the commencement of enterprises, etc. The

destiny of a child is also determined by the day of its birth and 777
the ombiasy must discover what this is, and, if evil, take steps to 791
change it.

The Tanala year consists of twelve lunar months called *volana* 805
(lit. "moon"). These run continuously and there seems to be no idea of the year beginning with any one of them. The Menabe month names are as follows:

January, *Vatravaira*
February, *Asotry*
March, *Hatsiho*
April, *Valasira*
May, *Afosa*
June, *Bolaka*
July, *Maka*
August, *Shakaake*
September, *Shakave*
October, *Volambita*
November, *Sharamasina*
December, *Sharamanitra*

The month begins with the new moon and continues twenty-eight days. Each month is characterized by certain climatic features, the blooming of a certain plant, etc., and when the month count seems to lag too far behind the seasons a month is repeated. This is done informally and by general consent. There is no central authority to which the rectification of the calendar can be referred. Each month is divided into four weeks of seven days.

Among the Menabe the month count is only used incidentally in 777
determining lucky and unlucky days. At the present time the better 805
practitioners use a regular calendar based on the position of the days [177]
in the month, but all informants agreed that this is a recent innovation, learned from the Antaimorona tribe. I did not learn how the significance of birth days was determined in ancient times. Lucky days for activities were determined as follows:

The time from new to full moon was propitious for sacrifices and 777
beginning enterprises; the time while the moon was waning was not 787
propitious. Thursdays and Sundays were also unpropitious and children born on these days had a bad destiny. In appointing the time for a sacrifice or beginning an enterprise the latter half of the month and Thursdays and Sundays were eliminated. The ombiasy then selected one of the remaining days at random and made the shorter form of sand *sikidy*. If the arrangement ○○ *Asimbola* appeared in the positions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12 and 16, the day was propitious. The *sikidy* was repeated five times and if this arrangement did not appear, another day was tried.

The calendar now used to determine lucky and unlucky days is 777
as follows, the month beginning on Monday. 805

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FIRST WEEK

Monday (*Alatsinainy*)	*Ravena*, "leaves." A propitious day.
Tuesday (*Talata*)	*Vahana*, "root." Idea of attachment and continuance. Good day for planting, marriage, or house building, but bad to become ill on, to pay fines or debts on, etc. A death on this day means other deaths in the family.
Wednesday (*Alarobia*)	*Alahamady* (month name). A very good day, a keen day, a red day. A child born on this day has a royal destiny.
Thursday (*Alakamisy*)	*Ambeiona*, "to dig." A good day, especially favorable for building cattle pens and planting.
Friday (*Zoma*)	*Ankadidy*, "enclosed." A good day for everything.
Saturday (*Sabotsy*)	*Alahasaty* (month name). A favorable birthday. The child will be strong.
Sunday (*Alahady*)	*Fiaravany*, "diminishing." A good day to set out on a war party, as the enemy will be diminished, but otherwise bad.

SECOND WEEK

Monday	*Lohasimbola*, "Head of the month *Asimbola*." A good day for everything.
Tuesday	*Lozo*, "laid waste." A bad day for everything.
Wednesday	*Vavasorotany*, "mouth of *Asorotany*" (a month). A good birthday. The child will have long life and good health.
Thursday	*Ankandrona*, "small lake or pool without outlet." A good day. Anything received on this day cannot get away.
Friday	*Sandramody*, "forbidden to return." Bad for marriage and journeys, but good for making tombs and funerals.

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Saturday	*Alakarabo* (month name). Good for cultivating crops, but a child born on this day will be sickly.
Sunday	*Ankarasoany*, "pleasure." Best day for fêtes, etc.

THIRD WEEK

Monday	*Alakaosy* (month name). A good day for everything.
Tuesday	*Atsiditny*, "entering." A good day to hunt for bee trees, also to lay off mourning.
Wednesday	*Alakafero*, "lost." A bad day, especially for building or marrying.
Thursday	*Ankonkony*, "reinforced." Anything one gets this day will increase.
Friday	*Soria* (not translated. Nearly the same word as that for meat). A good day for hunting but a bad one to buy cattle as they will die or be killed for meat.
Saturday	*Anaalo* (not translated). A good day for everything.
Sunday	*Fanemiriany*, "wish fulfilled." A good day, especially favorable for making charms.

FOURTH WEEK

Monday	*Lohalohotsy*, "head of *Alahotsy*" (a month). A good day for everything.
Tuesday	*Farany* or *Faralohotsy*, "last." Good for everything. An enterprise begun this day will end well even if it does badly at first.
Wednesday	*Andranoman*, "weeping." A bad day for everything.
Thursday	*Apaningany*, "departure." Good for marriages and commencing journeys.

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Friday	*Akifiny*, "thrown away." Good for bad things but bad for good ones. Best day to put off mourning, treat sickness, etc., but bad for marriage as it will lead to divorce.
Saturday	*Alohadaro*, "head of *Adaro*" (a month). Good for construction and business.
Sunday	*Faminany*, "to grasp tightly." Good for cattle buying, marriages, and the purchase of some charms.

The month names given to certain days in the calendar are those used by the Antaimorona. The calendar as a whole is known as the *vinta* or *vintana*.

IKONGO CALENDAR FOR DIVINATION

[113] [The following is a free translation of an article published by Captain Ardant du Picq in the Bulletin de l'Academie Malgache, vol. X, 1912, pp. 263–266.]

The Tanala Ikongo divide the time into cycles of twelve years, each year into twelve months and each month into twelve weeks of two or three days each.

THE CYCLES AND THE YEARS.—Each of the twelve years of the cycle bears a different name. The cycle revolves, the thirteenth year taking the first name again. This is a list of the years with the peculiarities which the *ombiasy* ascribes to each:

1. *Aiahamaly*	Only young girls will give birth.
2. *Asaora*	The bulls will bellow and there will be plenty of rice.
3. *Alizaoza*	Only boys will be born and these will later have all the women they desire.
4. *Asorotany*	The thunder will be violent.
5. *Alahasady*	Men born in this year will be vigorous, great boar hunters, expert at throwing the spear.
6. *Asimbola*	Girls born in this year will know how to sing well and boys how to tell lies well.

7. *Alimizana*	Boys who are born will become kings or chiefs of tribes. 777 805
8. *Alakarabo*	Girls born in this year will lead irregular lives while the boys will be industrious.
9. *Alakaosy*	Children born will be sorcerers and will have many progeny.
10. *Alizady*	Rain is abundant and the crocodiles dangerous.
11. *Adalo*	*Salamanga* (spirit possession) will be the cause of all illness.
12. *Alohotsy*	All old people who become ill will die.

The twelve years of this cycle bear the same names as the twelve weeks of the Ikongo month.

THE MONTHS.—The twelve months of the Ikongo year are as follows:

1. *Sakasay.*—In this month the vine *roimainty* flowers and the *harongana* flowers for the third time.
2. *Sakave.*
3. *Volambita.*—In this month general flowering begins, new shoots put forth and the birds mate.
4. *Asaromantsy.*—Flowering is at its height. The *harongana* flowers for the first time.
5. *Asaramanitra.*
6. *Vatrasatra.*—Second flowering of the *harongana.* Fruits ripen.
7. *Asotry.*—Time of heaviest rain.
8. *Atsiha.*—The rice becomes ripe.
9. *Valasira.*—Harvest time.
10. *Faosa.*
11. *Maka.*—The coldest month, the manioc loses its leaves.
12. *Hiahia.*

The month *Vatrasatra* corresponds to January. The rainy season extends from *Asaromantsy* to *Valasira* inclusive.

THE DAYS.—The Tanala month is a lunar month of twenty-eight 777
days. The days are grouped in twelve weeks of two or three days 805
each. Each of these has something peculiar to it. According to the 842
diviners one can tell the color of an ox without seeing it if one knows 553
the day on which it bellows. The days also determine the sex of the

805 children born on them. On the first, or first two days of each of
777 the twelve weeks only boys will be born, on the last day only girls.
[942] The *ombiasy* gives them names determined by the days of their birth.
553 The following table gives the names of the weeks and days and the peculiarities of each.

WEEKS	DAYS	COLOR OF THE OX THAT BELLOWS	NAME OF CHILDREN	
			Boys	Girls
1. Alahamaly (3 days)	1. Lohanalahamaly	Red		
	2. Vontonalahamaly	Spots of white on the hump, head and limbs	Idama	
	3. Faranalahamaly	White face, one horn broken		Ihaova
2. Asaora (2 days)	4. Asaora	Red and white spots	Isoza	
	5. Alahaka	Mouth edged with white		Isiza
3. Alizaoza (2 days)	6. Lohanalizaoza	Speckled black and white	Imosa	
	7. Faranalizaoza	Speckled only on the stomach		Imasy
4. Asaratany (3 days)	8. Lohanasaratany	Striped black and white	Isambo	
	9. Vontonasaratany	Two white spots on the flanks		
	10. Faranasaratany	White end of tail		Isana
5. Alahasady (2 days)	11. Lohanalahasady	Red stripe on the back to the hump	Ihasa	
	12. Faranalahasady	Yellow		Itema
6. Asimbola (2 days)	13. Lohanasombola	Mostly white	Iboba	
	14. Faranasombola	White with the top of the hump black		Ivola
7. Alimizana (3 days)	15. Lohanalimizaha	Chestnut color	Imonja	
	16. Vontonalimizaha	Piebald		
	17. Faranalimizaha	Yellow		Imija
8. Alakarabo (2 days)	18. Lohanalakarabo	Without a spot	Imoha	
	19. Faranalakarobo	Black with red reflection in sun		Imoma
9. Alakaosy (2 days)	20. Lohanalakaosy	Red nape of neck	Ijo	
	21. Faranalakaosy	White spots on throat		Imaho
10. Alizady (2 days)	22. Lohanalizady	White spots on cheeks	Iharo	
	23. Vontonalizady	White pasterns		
	24. Faranalizady	Dirty white		
11. Adalo	25. Lohanadalo	A large white spot on each flank	Imara	
	26. Faranadalo	Red, showing yellow when stroked		Ikajy
12. Alohotsy (2 days)	27. Lohanalohotsy	Face and hump white	Ihabila	
	28. Faranalohotsy	Pure white		Inoor

Friday, January 1, 1904, was, in the Tanala style, the second day 805 of the tenth week of the sixth month of the year *Adalo* (the first year of a cycle). Once this correspondence has been established it is easy to prepare a comparative calendar.

To count the days, the *ombiasy* has a piece of bamboo pierced with twenty-eight holes, arranged in groups of two or three, according to the number of days in each week. A pin is used as a marker, being moved daily.

The Menabe apparently lack such bamboo calendars, but keep day counts by means of notched wooden tallies and knotted strings. These are sometimes used for other numerical records as well.

DIVINATION BY THE STARS

The Tanala Menabe do not forecast events from the stars, but 787 they know that such divination exists and believe it to be effective. Apparently it is sometimes practiced by visiting *ombiasy* of the Antaimorona tribe, but they guard the secret. Information received from the Tanala is based on hearsay. They say that divination by the stars requires a lifetime of study, and that one who devotes himself to it must expect many years of poverty. He must go out to watch the stars every clear night, so has to sleep in the daytime and cannot work on his land. The student of the stars goes to a high open place and keeps glancing at the sky and then glancing away again. He must not look at the stars long or fixedly, for each man has one which is his special watcher or guardian and if he looks directly at this he will die. Even among the Antaimorona I was unable to learn whether there were any fixed rules for this divination.

SPELLS

A very striking feature of Tanala magic is the almost complete 788 absence of any belief in the efficacy of spoken formulae. Practically all magical practices are associated with some material object, which is the source of the power exercised. Even in the manufacture of charms spoken formulae are rare and, when used, they are variable in form and are considered of little importance.

MANUFACTURE AND USE OF CHARMS

The Tanala believe that the future is fixed by Fate, but also in the 777 efficacy of charms. I have never found an *ombiasy* who was conscious 789 of this inconsistency until I brought it to his attention. Even when the course of coming events has been determined by divination, the

777 future can nearly always be modified by the proper magic. This
789 magic takes the form of a charm which is worn, soaked in water which is then drunk or bathed in, etc. Even medicines given for the cure of illness always follow the charm pattern.

The native attitude toward charms is of considerable interest in view of the theories of primitive magic now extant. Their manufacture is a thoroughly mechanical process. They can be made by anyone who knows the proper formulae and adheres to them. Many persons who make no pretensions to being *ombiasy* are familiar with one or more charms which they regularly manufacture and sell. The manufacture of most charms is not accompanied by invocations and there is no belief that the charm is inhabited by a ghost or spirit, or even that it serves as a link between its owner and any Being. The charm owes its efficacy to its various ingredients and to the exact proportions and manner in which they are compounded. The magical potency of the finished product is, however, greater than the sum of the potencies of its ingredients, in fact the ingredients individually have little or no potency. The charm retains its potency indefinitely, its strength increasing rather than decreasing with age. Some charms are so strong that they become animate and can move and speak, but even then they do not require sacrifices or special service.

[779] The foregoing facts strongly suggest the presence of a belief in *mana*, i.e., impersonal magical power, which is concentrated and made available by the charm, but I am convinced that no such concept is consciously present. There is no native word for such power and I found great difficulty in explaining the idea to even the most intelligent of my informants. The Tanala are thoroughly convinced that the charms possess supernatural power which is exerted in favor of their owners, but no ideas as to the source or nature of this power, or as to the exact way in which it is applied, have been formulated. The natives are unconscious of any need for formulation. In this they are quite comparable to persons in our own culture who believe in the efficacy of lucky coins, etc., without being able to explain why they are efficacious.

The Tanala have charms for every phase of their existence and a complete list would be a catalogue of all their activities and vicissitudes. There are charms to aid the individual, the family and the village. Individual charms are the most numerous. They include charms to bring general good fortune, to avert or cure illness, to avert specific injuries, as from gunshot wounds, lightning or crocodiles, to frustrate enemies and render their charms innocuous, to give success in all possible activities, to bring wealth and to kill 777 enemies. Charms for the family or lineage include those to bring 789 general good fortune, to protect the crops from hail or locusts, to avert sickness, etc. Lastly, each village has its charm or charms which are given to it at the time it is founded and protect it from pestilence or enemy attack or both.

Most charms are compounds, but there are a few exceptions. A 777 bracelet of thick brass or copper wire (Fig. 23, c)[1] protects the wearer from all sorts of malevolent ghosts and consequently from attacks of vertigo, drowning and, some believe, crocodiles. Vertigo and drowning are thought due to the attack of spirits, while crocodiles may be under spirit control. No magic is connected with the manufacture of these bracelets. They are made by the Imerina and sold [438] by all traders.

Large, roughly spherical beads of translucent white glass, half an inch in diameter, were formerly considered powerful charms to insure general good fortune. They were usually worn attached to a lock of hair (Fig. 22, f). They were the most suitable gift from a man to a beloved wife or child and were highly valued, good examples being worth as much as an ox. At the present time they have largely gone out of use. These beads are not of native manufacture, and their source is unknown. They were probably obtained from the Arabs in early times. The wearing of other beads as charms is not a Tanala custom, but they are gradually coming into use as a result of contact with the plateau tribes. The use of beads as charms reaches its highest development among the Imerina, who distinguish at least fifty different sorts, each with its special magical quality.

A piece of vine which has turned back on itself and grown through [432] the loop, forming a knot, or two twigs which have crossed each other and grown together, make an efficient love charm. It may be cut and used or sold by anyone who finds it. Such charms are never worn openly.

Most charms are compounds. Vegetable substances predominate, but earth, insects, bones, etc., may also be incorporated. The mixture is put in a container of some sort so that it can be readily worn or carried. *Ody zaza* (charms to obtain children) must be done up in cloth and a few other charms are not efficacious unless they are put up in wood. Usually, however, the container does not affect the powers of the charm and its form varies with the fancy of the maker. Most Tanala charms are put up in small, cylindrical

[See category 116, p.205 - analyst]

777 wooden boxes with or without covers. Small rectangular boxes are
also used and there are a few fantastic shapes, like the coffin model
shown in Fig. 23, f. This is a charm for success in wrestling and the
shape of the box may be significant. Some of the larger charms for
general good fortune, which are kept in the dwelling, are put up in
finely woven covered baskets. Horn containers, which are very
common among the southern and western tribes, are rarely used
[531] here (Fig. 23, e). Such containers may be decorated with a band of
bead work around the larger end, but this is purely for ornament.

777 Few formulae for charms were obtained. They have to be bought
824 individually, often at exorbitant prices, and there is no way of
checking on their authenticity. One *ody basy* (charm to protect against gunshot wounds) is made by placing together pieces of wood from the following trees or bushes: (1) *Tsihabeza*, tree, virtues not defined. (2) *Vahita*, a vigorously growing bush. This gives strength and vitality. (3) *Aniro*, a species of palm with hard wood. Gives the person a hard surface. (4) *Berano* (lit. "much water"), a plant. This turns the enemy's bullets to water as they leave the gun. (5) *Tsilaitra* (lit. "impenetrable"), a tree. This makes invulnerable. (6) *Vahimavany* (lit. "brave creeper"), a vine. This makes brave. (7) *Kelimitany* (lit. "little brave"), a small tree. This makes brave. (8) *Famehilefona*, a tree. This protects from spears. (9) *Famakibady* (lit. "gun breaker"), a tree. This will cause the enemies' guns to explode. The substances are gathered and combined without any spell or ceremony and put in a container of wood or horn. They are usually soaked with grease or honey, but this is not necessary.

754 A charm used for killing an enemy is more complicated. Take
777 a root from the west side of the *arongana* ("poinsettia") plant and one
from the east side of the *hazodinga* (a plant). Take the end of an
[824] aerial root of the *tsirikomby* (a large tree, apparently of the fig
family) just before it touches the ground, also a root of the *longoza*
(a large-leafed plant like a caladium, growing in water) before it
[825] touches the water. Add to these a small insect called *sakodiavatra*
which lives in rotten wood. Pound the materials together in a mortar and fill the shell of a fresh-water snail with the mixture. The person who wishes to use this charm takes it and seven grains of rice, which have been husked by hand, and goes to a new tomb, usually at night. He makes a hole in the earth at the head of the tomb and names the person to be killed. He then waits until he hears any animal cry. After this he places the charm and the seven

grains of rice in the hole and covers them with earth, saying: "There 754
is your food. Go into the tomb." After this he dances at the tomb. 777

A charm which protects from the stings of scorpions is made by 751
taking inner leaves from the unopened center of the pandanus, 278
small peppers and the roots of *tsingolovolo*, a sort of grass. These are ground together on a stone and a little of the material rubbed into incisions on the palm of the hand and the tongue. A single inoculation gives immunity for life. The person can even pick up scorpions with impunity if he spits on them first.

It has already been said that the Tanala *ombiasy* are not averse 777
to experiments, and they will invent new charm compounds to meet 791
new circumstances. They even go a step farther and test the efficacy of their charms before selling them, or at least claim to do so. If the charm is an *ody basy* (charm against gunshot wounds) the *ombiasy* will hang it up in front of a *lamba* ("cloth mantle") and fire at it from a distance of ten or twelve feet. If it has been made properly, the *lamba* will be uninjured and the bullet will be found lying on the ground flattened, as though it had struck a rock. If the charm is an *ody omby* (cattle *ody*, protecting herdsmen and bull baiters) the *ombiasy* puts it on and tries its efficacy by thrusting against his thigh an ox horn which has been made as sharp as possible. If the charm is good, the horn cannot pierce his skin.

Every charm has its associated *fady*, a taboo or prohibition, 777
which must be learned by the maker as a part of the formula, and 842
which is told to the purchaser. Apparently it is not necessary for the maker to observe this *fady* himself, except while actually engaged in the manufacture of the charm, but the person using the charm must observe it consistently or the charm will immediately lose its virtue. The *fady* for *ody zaza* (charms to obtain children) are most numerous. It is forbidden for a woman wearing one to eat food directly from the pot, to lend her mat or *lamba* to another person, or for anyone to use them. She is forbidden to run races, or to poke her finger into a child's cheek to make it laugh. It is also forbidden for anyone to stop a woman wearing such a charm by standing in front of her with both arms held out sidewise. At the time a woman assumes an *ody zaza* she announces these *fady* to everyone in the village and a person who breaks or causes her to break one of them will be called before the village assembly, reprimanded and, if it was done maliciously, fined.

The *ody basy* has as a *fady* the pointing of a bamboo water bottle 777
toward the door of the owner's house, unless water is being poured 784

777 out at the time. The owner of an *ody vary* (charm to promote the 784 growth of rice) has two *fady:* to throw out the burned rice from the bottom of a cooking pot instead of eating it and to arrange the hair while in the rice field. The owner of an *ody tolona* (charm for wrestling) must not eat mashed manioc, which would make the muscles soft. The owner of an *ody omby* (cattle charm) must abstain from boiled taro leaves for the same reason. The charm against scorpions (*ody hala*), the contents of which have already been described, has three *fady* associated with it. The owner must never kill scorpions, pick up live coals or a brand from the fire with his hands, or eat the fruit of the *lofika* vine unless he has peeled it himself with his teeth. *Ody tembote* (for curing illness) have a great variety of *fady* varying with the nature of the complaint.

If the owner of a charm breaks its *fady*, the charm immediately loses all power. He must take white earth and make a spot with it in the middle of his forehead and on either cheek. The power of the charm then returns.

A person usually acquires the benefits of a charm by simply wearing it or keeping it in his house, at the same time observing the *fady*, but there are a few charms which require an inoculation, like that already described for the scorpion charm. When an *ody fólaka* [755] (a charm for skill in curing fractures) is bought, an incision is made in the heel of the purchaser's right hand and a little of the medicine rubbed in. Part of a charm to make blow-gun arrows deadly also consists in splitting the lip and inserting a little of the medicine. Apparently these were the only charms with inoculation in ancient times, but some forty years ago an Imerina slave who was very expert in bull baiting introduced a charm for that purpose which required it and it is now sometimes used with charms against lightning, *ody tandraka*, in imitation of the Imerina practice.

All charms must be treated with respect and must not be handled more than is necessary. Especial pains are taken to keep them out of the way of children, for if they play with them injuries may result. [154] Charms for working evil, such as killing enemies, etc., are especially dangerous and it is thought unsafe to keep them in the house.

[432] Charms can be sold without ceremony either by their makers or by persons who have themselves bought them. The transfer is complete and there is no danger to the seller. On the other hand, it is dangerous to discard a charm, for this offends it and it may turn its powers against its owner. To prevent this, the owner takes a fungus called *olotafine*, grates it on a stone and puts some of the

powder on the middle of his forehead, on either cheek and on his 777
tongue. In general, the only charms which will be discarded are 784
evil ones which have accomplished their object.

Charms for the family or lineage are much less numerous than 621
those for the individual. Nearly all such groups seem to have *ody* 777
andro (charms to bring general good fortune), which are kept in the 825
dwelling of the family head. There are also charms against hail
and locusts. Apparently one family or individual in each village
will have such a charm which is used for the benefit of the whole
group. The locust charm, *ody valala*, consists of a small basket
containing scrapings from the roots and shoots of a plant called [824]
ramanjavana. The name means "to make clouds," because a little
vapor flies up when the plant is cut. When a locust swarm is sighted,
the charm is brought out and hung on a pole on the side of the *kianza*
("village square") from which the locusts are coming. A fire is made
under it with the leaves of the same plant, producing dense clouds
of smoke. The charm against hail was not learned. Among the
pagan Imerina, every village had its hail and locust charms, each
with its guardian, who received a small subsidy from the inhabitants.

Every Tanala village has a charm and many have two. The 621
main charm is called the *tepanony*. Some famous *ombiasy* is called 777
in to make it at the time the village is founded. He determines the 787
proper materials by divination, pounds them together, adds a
piece of silver money, and then buries the whole in the center of
the *kianza* ("village square"). Over the charm are planted roots of
four plants, the *sonjo* ("taro"), *sody fafana*, *ahibita*, and *arivolombelona*.
The spot is usually enclosed by a little rectangle of stone slabs set
on edge. In some villages the plants are watered and tended, in
others they have been allowed to die. If the village moves as a
whole, the *tepanony* is usually dug up and reinterred at the new
site. The *tepanony* protects the village from pestilence, also from
lightning and malevolent ghosts, if the divination has shown that
there will be danger from these at the site chosen. It does not protect
from enemy attack.

The second village charm is known as the *kosory* and has the special function of protecting from enemies. Apparently most villages had a *kosory* in ancient times, but with the establishment of peace they have become unnecessary and have mostly disappeared. The *kosory* was placed in a small fenced enclosure just outside the principal gate. Apparently the form was rather variable. In a few cases it seems to have been a wooden image, set with its face toward

621 787 777 the path. That at Ambohimanga, the former capital of the Tanala Menabe, was made from various leaves buried in the earth. Over this a large-leaved plant, also called the *kovavy*, was planted. Each year the top of the plant was cut off and the bark scraped from the stump for 2 or 3 inches below. The right ear of an ox was cut and blood from it rubbed on the stump. Leaves were plucked from the plant, pounded, and mixed with water which was given to the ox to drink. The ox was the property of the village *ombiasy* and the same one was used each year. After this inoculation the ox was turned loose in the forest. The ox was restless, wandering constantly, and whenever he crossed the trail of an enemy coming to attack the village he would begin bellowing and would come at once to the *kovavy* and stand there bellowing. The direction from which he came showed that from which the enemy was coming and the villagers would have time to prepare for the attack.

777 342 In addition to the types of charms just outlined there were charms to bless houses and bring fortune to their inhabitants. These were buried on the site before the house was built.

825 777 The crocodiles in the Manandriana River were rendered innocuous by a charm thrown into the river long ago. The *fady* for this charm was that in crossing the river one must paddle with a spade or axe instead of a regular paddle and that one must not wash a *lamba mena* ("shroud") in it. So long as these rules were observed the crocodiles did no damage, but they have been ignored since the coming of the French, with the result that crocodiles now carry off domestic animals, although they still do not attack people.

The native name for charms in general is *tamango*, *mohara* or *ody*, the terms being used interchangeably.

HEALING

755 One of the principal duties of the *ombiasy* is healing. When a person becomes ill he goes to the *ombiasy*, or sends for him, and pays an advance fee of 1.20 to 1.50 francs, arranging at the same time for a larger fee to be paid after the cure. The *ombiasy* makes the *sikidy* to learn the cause of the illness and prescribes from his knowledge, or, if the case is not clear, makes the *sikidy* a second time to find the remedy. The remedy is usually a mixture of herbs, compounded as a charm. Part of the charm is put in water. The sick person drinks some of this and bathes his whole body with the rest. Another part of the medicine is done up in a little cloth bag and worn around the patient's neck. There is always a *fady* which the patient

must observe. If the patient dies, the *ombiasy* does not receive the 755
final fee, but he retains the initial fee and is not punished, except by loss of prestige. In case of an epidemic the *ombiasy* gives protective medicine to everyone in the village.

As a rule the *ombiasy* is only applied to in serious cases. In 757
every village there are old people of both sexes who treat minor ailments without any pretensions to magic. These practitioners use herb remedies, for the most part, and some of their medicines possess real value. Inflammation is relieved by cupping. The operator makes a small incision in the skin, places the tip of a horn over it, and exhausts the air by suction. The small end of the horn is covered with a lump of soft wax and when the vacuum has been formed this is pressed together with the tongue, sealing the opening (Fig. 23, h).[1] The horn is left on until the suction has filled it with blood. Boils and abscesses are never lanced, but may be poulticed to bring them to a head. Fractures are treated by the *ombiasy* or by persons having a special charm for the purpose. In some cases the art seems to be hereditary in families. A decoction is made by boiling the leaves of various plants in water, or they are pounded and mixed with grease, and the limb is rubbed with this. The bone is set and the limb placed in leaves with a heavy bandage. No splints are used.

SLEIGHT OF HAND

The Tanala *ombiasy* make comparatively little use of sleight 789
of hand. The idea that illness is due to some foreign body which [753]
has been thrown into the afflicted person seems to be lacking, so there
is little reason to exercise it. However, some practitioners use 756
sleight of hand to show their powers and impress their clientele. A Tanala *ombiasy* resident among the Betsileo staged an exhibition for me as follows: He spread a new mat on the floor and placed upon it two large bowls, one empty, the other filled with water. Beside these he laid a club made from half of a sawfish's saw. This, he said, was a sort of magician's wand. Anyone struck by it would die. For the exhibition, it simply increased the power of the other charms. When these objects had been arranged, he drew from his waistcloth a charm made from sticks of wood packed into the hollow of a small horn. He placed this, large end down, in the dish of water and allowed it to steep for about ten minutes. He then removed it and placed it in the dry bowl. After this, he asked me to give him something that he could chew up and swallow. I offered him a piece of ordinary paper about three inches square. He steeped this in the water for a short time, then folded it and pressed it to the

[1] [See category 116, p. 205 - analyst]

789 open end of the charm, immersing both in the water. He repeated 756 this several times, asking me to examine it each time to be sure that he had not made a substitution. Then he swallowed the paper and drank most of the water, at least a quart and a pint. After this he rested for a moment, belched, and spat out a wad of thread. He told me to pick this up and draw on it. The thread ran down his throat and after pulling out about 15 feet of it I cut it off with a knife. The thread was ordinary commercial cotton. He had evidently swallowed a ball of it, holding the upper end in his mouth in some way.

After a short rest he asked me to get him a piece of glass and I gave him a fragment of broken bottle about 1½ inches long by ¾ inch wide. He treated this as he had the paper, then put it in his mouth and chewed up about half of it, swallowing it. There was no trickery in this part of the performance. He then drank more water from the bowl, which had been refilled, and asked that the dry bowl be held in front of him. After a short time he began to retch and spat into the bowl a double handful of dark blue berries about the size of huckleberries.

Following another rest he took a second piece of paper, went through the same performance as before, and spat out a live chameleon 7¼ inches long. I caught the animal, which was very active, and found slight bruises on either side of its neck, probably due to its having been held between his teeth.

Lastly, he took another piece of paper, repeated the performance, and spat out a live snake 16 inches long. This completed the show. The various objects produced must, of course, have been slipped into his mouth each time, but this was done very cleverly. He talked almost constantly and although I watched him closely I was unable to see when he made the transfer. His native audience was much impressed and seemed to believe that the transformations were authentic.

Sorcery

754 The Tanala Menabe seem to lack the almost hysterical fear of sorcery which characterizes the tribes of the east coast and plateau. They admit that a certain amount of it goes on, but trials for sorcery are rare and few stories about it are current. Sickness and ill fortune are usually ascribed to the malevolence of ghosts rather than men. All but one of my informants denied any first hand knowledge of the sorcerer's methods and none of them believed that they themselves had been the victims of sorcery.

Apparently the power to work evil to an enemy is dependent on the possession of a charm. Nearly all *ombiasy* know formulae for making such charms and will sell them to clients with directions for their use. The transaction is kept secret, but even if it is discovered the *ombiasy* is rarely punished. It is considered part of his legitimate business. Directions for the manufacture and use of one killing charm have been given (see Manufacture and Use of Charms), but there are many others. Apparently human bones or earth from tombs is the most important ingredient in most of these. 759

There are a number of methods for directing the evil power against an enemy. The commonest seems to be to bury the charm beside or in a person's house or in his rice patch. It may also be placed in the spring or river from which he draws water, where it will injure the person who has been named to it, but no one else. The power of certain charms may be directed by pointing the finger at the enemy, looking at him fixedly, mentioning his name when he is present, or touching his person or food with the finger. One of the favorite methods with children is to touch the head and a stranger or enemy who does this is almost sure to be suspected if anything happens to the child. Some charms are mixed with the victim's food, or put inside a banana given him to eat. There can be little doubt that such "charms" are often genuine poisons. It seems probable that injury may also be caused by bringing into contact with the charm some object which has been in close contact with the victim, such as a lock of his hair, one of his garments, etc., but I could not verify this. At least it is a common belief among all the neighboring tribes.

When a person believes himself to be the victim of sorcery he appeals to an *ombiasy*, who verifies it by the *sikidy* and, as a first step, tries to find and destroy the charm which is the source of the trouble. One informant gave an amusing and spirited story of such a search. The *ombiasy* located the charm under the floor of the victim's house and began to dig for it but it evaded him, moving rapidly about under ground, like a mole. Finally he drove it into a corner, dug it up and carried it off. The *ombiasy* also gives the victim a charm to wear, to counteract that of the enemy. One of the favorite remedies is scrapings from the *arakarala*, a pole on which raffia is hung to dry.

Most Tanala sorcery is sporadic, based on the momentary need of some individual who may never have practiced it before and may never practice it again. There are, however, a few individuals

754 who are professional sorcerers, working evil repeatedly for the pleasure they derive from it. Such persons are called *mpamosavy* and are universally feared and hated, although the practice of occasional [177] sorcery is condoned. Apparently *mpamosavy* have become much more numerous since the Imerina conquered the Tanala and many informants denied that they existed prior to the conquest. There may be some truth in this, for stories told of their antics are very much like those told by the Imerina about their own sorcerers.

The *mpamosavy*, who may be either men or women, are not content to injure their enemies by charms. They steal out of their houses at night, nude except for a white *lamba* which is wrapped around the head like a turban. They go to tombs, especially shortly after a burial, and dance there, rejoicing. This strengthens the influences which have caused the death and brings about the deaths of others. They rob tombs, carrying off valuables deposited with the dead and taking bones and parts of bodies, which are used to concoct evil charms. During my stay an *mpamosavy* stole a skull from a tomb and placed it in the middle of the village square, where it was found next day. The natives were less terrified than one might have expected and one of the men whose duty it was to shift old bodies at a burial gathered it up without ceremony, wrapped it in a *lamba* and took it back. There were no ceremonies for purification or to avert evil and within a week the incident seemed to have been forgotten.

When anyone in the village is ill, the *mpamosavy* will come and cry outside the house at night, mourning as if he were already dead. This strengthens the evil influences and makes the person die. They also scratch at doors and windows, terrifying persons in the house and acting as though they wished to break in, although they never enter. Sometimes they ride cattle until the cattle are exhausted, break down fences and do other wanton damage. Although they are greatly feared, they have no power to injure a person who confronts them boldly and several informants expressed a wish to encounter one. The reason for this was that, as the punishment for [627] the crime was death, if one captured an *mpamosavy* one could demand a huge sum for releasing him and concealing his identity.

754 828 Tanala *mpamosavy* apparently are solitary, not operating in organized groups like those of the Imerina. Several informants expressed the belief that a person might be an *mpamosavy* without knowing it himself, citing instances. Such a person would be forced to become one by the power of some evil charm. There seemed to

be no idea of spirit possession. The unconscious ompamosavy would 754
go to bed like anyone else, then rise and do his evil deeds and night 828
running in a somnambulistic condition. One man did not know that he was an ompamosavy until his wife told him that he rose every night after they had gone to bed, went out, and returned some hours later with his body icy cold and his feet covered with dew. A similar case among the Betsileo seemed well authenticated. The child of a wealthy Christian family had died and been buried in the cemetery. It was found that some one came at night and trampled on the grave, tore up flowers that had been placed on it, etc. A watch was set and it was found that the offender was a female servant of the family. She had been the child's nurse and her devotion to it was unquestionable. She was overwhelmed with grief when she found what she had done, and all those who knew her were convinced that her acts had been unconscious. With such instances in mind it is not hard to understand why persons accused of being ompamosavy often doubt their own innocence, or why even the victims of trial by ordeal believe in its efficacy.

FADY

The term *fady* is equivalent to the Polynesian taboo. It means a 784
prohibition of any sort and, by an extension of the idea, the act or thing prohibited. The term is applied equally to acts which are simple breaches of good manners, punished only by popular disapprobation, and to those which are offensive to the ancestors and bring supernatural punishment. There are hundreds of *fady* and no one person is familiar with the entire series. In general, a few of the most important are known and obeyed, while the rest are known only to the ombiasy and afford them an unfailing supply of reasons for illness and misfortune.

Tanala *fady* may be roughly classified as general *fady*, observed by the entire tribe, *fady* of the gens and village, and individual *fady*. The latter are nearly always associated with charms and have been described under that heading. Many of the general fady are associated with ideas of sympathetic magic. Thus it is *fady* to bring a flaming brand into the house, as this will bring in danger. It is also *fady* to carry a burden across the village square if it is slung on a pole between two men. This is because corpses are carried in this way and if one does it there will soon be a death. There are no doubt other *fady* of similar import. There are also a number of general *fady* on foods. Dogs, rats, snakes and crocodiles are never

784 eaten. There is no explanation of this, except that the idea is considered disgusting.

618 784 Nearly every gens has its special *fady*, although there are a few which lack them. Those of the Zafiakotry gens are as follows: (1) To kill or eat wild or domestic pigs, to allow them to be cooked in their pots, or even to have pig meat brought into the village. There are two explanations of this *fady*: (a) The pig eats excrement and other filth and is therefore unclean. (b) The village in which the founder of the gens lived was attacked and taken by the enemy. He fled and took refuge in a thicket. The enemy, following to kill him, were charged by a wild boar which was lying asleep in the same thicket. They concluded that he could not be hidden there or the pig would have run away, so passed on. In gratitude, the ancestor enjoined his descendants never to injure pigs. (2) To injure the bird called *railongy*, a dark-colored bird about as large as an American grackle, having a crest of one or two feathers which project forward. The Zafiakotry not only do not trap or kill these birds, but will buy and release any that they see in cages. The *railongy* is considered the king of the birds, for it takes feathers of all the other species to build its nest. This *fady* dates from the time that the Zafiakotry became the royal gens of the Tanala Menabe and it is believed that its infraction will endanger their political power. It was imposed by an *ombiasy* at the time he gave the first Tanala king a charm in which parts of the *railongy* were included.

The Zanakanony, an aboriginal group who now live among the Zafiakotry, have adopted these *fady*. Originally the group had none.

The Zafimarsonaka have the following *fady*: (1) To kill or eat the *tsingetry*, a small black bird with two white feathers in its tail. This is explained by the story that when enemies were searching for the founder of this gens they stopped to watch a *tsingetry*. While they were doing this their friends shouted to them that dinner was ready and, being tired and hungry, they abandoned the chase. In gratitude the fugitive made the bird *fady* to his descendants. (2) To shout to persons to call them to a meal. This is also explained by the foregoing legend. (3) To eat the sokona, a small insectivore which rolls itself into a ball when attacked. This is because a pregnant woman of the gens once ate one and her child was born bent like a bow. (4) To eat the *ajohi*, a bird with a long curved bill. A pregnant woman ate one and her child had a long hooked nose. The last two *fady* are observed by both men and women, but apply only to eating the flesh. Members

of the gens will kill these animals and trade them to other groups to 784
whom they are not *fady*. 618

The Marolahy have a *fady* against eating wild pig, but can kill it or keep the meat in their houses. This is because they were once very fond of the meat, and, after a hunt, gorged themselves with it so that many became ill and the chief of their village died.

The Tevato have the following *fady*: (1) To eat wild or domestic pig, because these animals are filth eaters. (2) To eat eels, either the large spotted *tona* or the ordinary eel. (3) To eat meat killed by other gentes. (4) To eat or cook with utensils used by persons of other gentes. They say that all these *fady* are inherited from their ancestors who had them when they came to Madagascar from "Maka," i.e., [16] Arabia. They are known to have entered the Tanala territory from the southeast coast and probably do have some Arab blood. In this gens a man who is accused of any offense will say: "I will eat a *tona* if I did it." This is a binding oath, and, if the accuser still doubts his word, he has the right to attack him seriously, with a knife or axe.

The Zafindranolava do not eat wild or domestic pig, saying they are filth eaters.

The Andriavahoakarivo do not kill or eat parrots, the *fady* being explained by the following story: The founder of the gens was attacked by robbers, beaten unconscious, and buried in a shallow grave. He recovered consciousness, but thought he was dead and made no move to escape until he heard the clamor of parrots in a neighboring tree. Then he concluded he was alive and dug his way out. In gratitude he made the parrot *fady* to his descendants.

The Zafindiamanana do not kill or eat goats, saying that once a goat which had been improperly butchered lived for a long time, disturbing the village with its cries and disgusting the people so that they were unable to digest the meat.

The Zafimaniry have the same *fady* in all their divisions. These are: (1) To kill or eat lemurs. This is because they have hands and finger nails like human beings, and are the descendants of men who long ago became lost in the forest. (2) To eat the *sora*, a small spiny insectivore. This is because in eating one of them a man once got a spine stuck in his throat. It became infected and the man died. A second reason is that the *sora* lives with rats, which are unclean, and sometimes rats turn into *sora*. (3) To kill or eat the *soki*, a very small bird. This is because when the ancestor of the gens was hiding in a thicket from enemies a flock of *soki* came and settled on the

618 branches. The enemy saw them, thought no man could be there,
784 and went on.

The Zafindraonavory and the Zafisoamatra have no *fady*. The latter are a newly arrived group who have come from the Betsileo country within six generations. They live among the Zafiakotry and imitate their *fady* to some extent.

In marriages between gentes, men always keep the *fady* of their gens and these descend to their children even if the family is matrilocal. At the same time, children of a matrilocal marriage will usually observe the *fady* of both their father's and mother's gentes, as a matter of courtesy. Women retain the *fady* of their own gens until after the birth of the first child, when they adopt those of their husbands. Very often they will practice both. If a woman belongs to a gens which has no *fady*, she will adopt her husband's *fady* at once.

The gens *fady* just described is the only thing in Tanala culture which might suggest totemism and it would require a considerable stretching of even that much abused term to include such phenomena within its scope. There is nowhere any idea of descent from, or even collateral relationship with, the *fady* animal and in many instances the members of the gens are quite willing to kill it. Even those who will not kill it themselves will often encourage Europeans to do so. I was more than once asked to hunt wild pig which were damaging plantations belonging to gentes to which they were *fady*. There are no ceremonies to increase the *fady* animals, no representations of these animals are used in art, and their names are never used to designate gentes.

784
621 In addition to the *fady* observed by gentes, each village has its own particular *fady*, given by an *ombiasy* at the time the village was founded. I suspect that such *fady* are a part of the *sampony* or village charm, which was also given to the village at this time, but the natives were not clear on this point. In some villages it was *fady* to allow strangers to enter on certain days of the week. If the visitors were important they would be lodged in a house outside the stockade and their wants attended to there. Pork could not be brought into Ambohimanga or Ampasimanitra, or castor oil beans or oil into Avohitaviro. In certain villages it was *fady* to bring a rice mortar in unless the mouth was covered with a *lamba*. This was because the mortar had a big opening and to bring it in uncovered would leave a big opening in the magical defenses of the village, through which all sorts of evil could enter.

The breaking of a village *fady* entails injury to the whole village 784
and may be punished by a fine or by rough handling on the part of 621
the villagers. However, there seems to be no attempt at purification. The breaking of a gens *fady* affects only the person who has broken it. If forbidden food has been eaten, the offender puts a silver bracelet in water and then gargles with the water, saying: "I have eaten something forbidden, and for this reason I gargle with silver water. I wash myself now that I may be purified and that the offense may not cause me illness or accident." The purification is performed in private and neither gods nor ancestors are invoked.

Fady are imposed by ombiasy or by an ancestor upon his descendants. Apparently there is no method by which they can be revoked. The only thing which corresponds to the temporary and revokable taboos which are such an important feature of Polynesian culture is the prohibition which a person may put upon entering his house. If a man wishes to be undisturbed, he will set up a ring of grass or vine in a cleft stick outside the door. The observance of such a prohibition is simply a matter of good manners and the custom seems to have no religious implications.

OMENS

The Tanala pay relatively little attention to signs or omens. 787
Those which are recognized are known to everyone. A man may sometimes consult an ombiasy to learn the meaning of some peculiar and unnatural happening which he feels must be significant, but I could not learn that ombiasy themselves ever consult omens before coming to a decision. They believe the sikidy to be so effective that all other forms of divination are unnecessary.

The commonest and most generally recognized omens are as 787
follows: If one sees an [illegible] (a species of large walking stick 726
insect) it is a sign of approaching death in his family or village. This is because the legs of the animal stretch out in front and behind like the poles of a bier. The size of the animal indicates the importance of the person who will die and its color that of the shroud in which the body will be wrapped.

If a snake called *[illegible]* (a small species about 2 to 2½ feet long and 1 inch in diameter) crosses one's path or enters the house, a member of the family will die.

If a person going on a journey sees a crocodile lying in the sun, it is a sure sign that he will die on the journey.

787 If a hen lays a very small egg, or eats its eggs, or crows, it is a
825 sign of danger, sickness or death in the family.

After the *kowry* ("guardian charm") was set up at Ambohimanga, if a single crow flew over the village it was a sign that enemy scouts were near. If there were two or more crows, the enemy was at a distance and would not arrive. If a wild boar or lemur came to the village of its own accord, it was a sign of great and imminent danger. This only happened once, in the time of Queen Iovana, and an ox was sacrificed to the ancestors at once to avert the evil.

DREAMS

787 The significance attached to dreams of ancestors has already been discussed. Other dreams were interpreted as actual experiences of the *ambiroa* and were not considered ominous. I could learn of no instances of dream interpretation.

INSANITY AND SPIRIT POSSESSION

828 There is a very sharp distinction in the native mind between
158 spirit possession and insanity. The latter is believed to be due to the absence of the normal personality, equated with the soul. Although the insane are usually well treated, they receive no special respect and are not thought to be under spirit protection. Formerly those who were violent or otherwise troublesome, or who appeared to be suffering, were put to death as painlessly as possible. This was considered a merciful act. At the present time even the more conservative tribes usually send their insane to be cared for by the government.

787 All the Malagasy believe in spirit possession, but its importance
158 in the culture pattern varies considerably with the tribe. The idea appears to be most developed among the Sakalava, on the west coast, moderately strong among the plateau tribes, and weak among those of the southeast coast. The Antaifasina, who belong to the last-named group, insisted that they were unfamiliar with it prior to about 1910, when it was introduced by tribesmen who had worked on west coast plantations. Some of these men became possessed by Sakalava spirits, who returned with them. Even now, many of the Antaifasina claim to be possessed by the souls of Sakalava chiefs and speak Sakalava during their seizures. In view of the unquestionable antiquity of spirit possession among the other east coast tribes, it seems probable that the idea was already present, but received a great impetus from the Sakalava contact. It could not have been

very strong, however, for the Antaifasina say that they are unable 787
to cure the malady and are accustomed to turn over the victims to the 158
French medical authorities for treatment.

The ceremonial side of spirit possession is most highly developed [174] among those tribes which show the most African influence and it seems possible that the whole idea is ultimately traceable to Africa. However, it has become thoroughly incorporated into the native culture. I never heard a non-Christian native express scepticism regarding it and even the Christians are convinced of its reality and treat it by prayer and exorcism.

Spirit possession is always intermittent. Physically it is characterized by trembling and twitching, increasing in violence until the subject begins to dance. The attack usually ends in unconsciousness and rigidity. When the subject is revived he is normal and has no memory of what has occurred. A few of the victims may be true epileptics, but in most cases they seem to suffer from nothing more than acute hysteria. A Tanala woman of the Manandriana gens told me that she might become possessed at any time or place. Her heart would begin to beat violently and everything before her eyes would become wavering and indistinct "as though she were looking through heat waves in strong sunlight." When this happened she knew that the possessing spirit was coming and would begin to dance. She had never seen or heard the spirit and this was the only way in which she was conscious of its presence. Ratsakoba, a Tanala informant of the Zafindiamanana gens, told me that a person subject to possession would begin to tremble and twitch when he heard a drum, or a person crying, or when he felt any strong emotion, as joy at the return of a long-absent relative. All informants agreed that the malady was contagious and that if one person became possessed all those present who were subject to possession would also be attacked. I witnessed a case of this sort during a ceremony at the royal Sakalava tombs at the village of Mahabo. A woman became possessed and a man near her was seized almost immediately. As he was a person of importance all attention was centered on him and the woman recovered in a few minutes without help. Among the Imerina there was a great epidemic [664] of possession in 1863-64, which seems to have been quite comparable to some episodes in medieval European history.

Satisfactory accounts of spirit possession and the methods for its 158
cure were obtained from the Zafindiamanana and Manandriana 828
gentes of the Tanala Menabe. It is known to occur with at least equal frequency among the Ikongo, but no exact information was

128 158 available. It seems to play a relatively unimportant role in the culture of the Menabe and the native attitude toward it is much the same as that toward any other disease. Although the possessed receive much care and attention during the seizure, to be subject to [554] possession decreases rather than increases the prestige of the individual. Even persons who give oracles while possessed are, with few exceptions, rated below the regular *ombiasy* ("medicine-men"). All informants agreed that a person who was not subject to possession would make no attempt to become so.

178 158 There can be little doubt that spirit possession is becoming more frequent at the present time. This is probably due in part to increased contact with tribes who hold the concept. Thus Raindranaivo, my best informant from the Manandriana gens, says that the ceremonial features of possession have been taken over by his gens from the Betsileo, some of whom now live among them, and that the frequency of possession has greatly increased within his adult memory, about fifty years. Emotional stresses resulting from the break-up of the old culture may also play a part, for the epidemic outbreaks of possession among the Imerina occurred at the time when European culture began to make itself felt as a menace.

158 787 In both gentes the term *salamanga* is applied indiscriminately to the malady, the spirit causing it, the person suffering from it (during the time he is possessed), and the ceremony for its cure. The Zafindiamanana recognize two types of *salamanga*, the ordinary one and the *salamanga sakalava*, in which the possessed gives spirit messages, directions for making medicines, etc., during the seizure.

There seems to be a good deal of confusion about the spirits causing the ordinary *salamanga*. In general they are regarded as ancestral, but there seems to be no complete agreement on this, or as to whether more than one spirit can possess the same individual at different times. The ordinary *salamanga* usually does not know who his possessing spirit is. He is seized without warning and will drop whatever he is doing and run toward the village tomb or to some near-by lake or river, where he plunges in. His relatives pursue him and carry him back to the village bodily. Once there, he is released and begins to dance. If the bystanders do not sing and clap, to help him, he falls unconscious and becomes rigid, as though dead. After the victim has danced for a time and begins to show signs of exhaustion, one of his relatives takes the *hazomanga* (see p. 187), scrapes it with the regular invocation, and puts the dust in water. The victim drinks some of this and pours the rest over his head. He recovers

at once. The Zafindiamanana have no charms to prevent possession 158
and say that no permanent cure is possible. 787

The *salamanga sakalava* is always possessed by a known ancestral 756
spirit. In many cases he is a regular practitioner who can throw him- 829
self into the *salamanga* state at will. The Zafindiamanana seem to use the terms *salamanga sakalava* and *ombiasy sikolo* as synonymous, although in other gentes the latter term has a different significance (see *Ombiasy*). However, they rate such persons below the regular *ombiasy* and say that the profession is dangerous, often leading to insanity.

The *salamanga sakalava* seems to occupy himself mainly with 756
curing diseases. The situation is explained to him before the seizure comes on. During the attack he behaves like the ordinary *salamanga*, but if he runs to water at the onset of the possession he will dive to the bottom and bring up something from it. This will be the medicine for the malady. After he has been brought back, and while he is dancing, his spirit will answer questions or declare the cause and cure of the sickness. Finally, he is cured with *hazomanga* water, like the regular *salamanga*.

Among the Manandriana the ideas and practices connected with 753
the *salamanga* are much more elaborate. They call the ordinary 755
salamanga (without messages) *bilo*. It manifests itself by violent twitchings and a compulsion to dance. It may attack people while they are asleep or seriously ill in bed. It may also be brought on by eating the first of the new rice or maize at harvest time. Sometimes, apparently, the *ombiasy* diagnoses an illness as *bilo* when the ordinary symptoms are lacking. When the attack commences the *ombiasy* ("medicine-man") employs the *sikidy* ("divination") to discover what sort it is. There are three varieties, *andika*, *andamaloza* and *andolo*, which are the same in symptoms but differ in treatment. Apparently the real difference lies in the strength and obstinacy of the possessing spirit, but Raindranaivo remarked cynically that rich people were usually possessed by the *andika*, which required the longest and most expensive ceremony.

The cure of *salamanga andika* is as follows: A bed in the form 755
of a stretcher is hung from the roof of the house in such a position that its edge will be against the north side of the center post and its head east. Directly over the ordinary fireplace another fireplace is made. This is a platform raised on four posts about 2 feet high and covered with a mat. On the mat is a square enclosure of boards full of earth in which stone tripods for two pots are planted. One tripod

is used for cooking meat, the other for cooking rice and brewing herb medicine. The *salamanga* lies on the raised bed and all his food must be cooked on the raised fireplace. The reason is that the possessing spirit is important and high, so everything must be elevated. To the center post of the house is tied a plant of red sugar cane, a banana plant which has not yet borne fruit, branches of the *fatakilo* and *sily* and some other plants. A decoction of herbs, brewed on the fireplace, is put in a drinking horn with a silver bracelet hooked over the edge and this is tied to the bottom of the post. The *salamanga* lies on the bed until about three o'clock in the afternoon when he is given an *evoka* ("steam bath"). Plants selected by the *ombiasy* are boiled in a pot and when the steam is thick the pot is thrust under the bed or the *salamanga* crouches with it between his knees. Man and pot are covered with many *lamba* ("mantles") so that he can inhale the vapor and sweat. After he has sweated the *ombiasy* paints him with alternate stripes of red, black and white, employing earth colors and charcoal. The forehead, breast and back are striped vertically, with cross stripes on the arms. The *salamanga* formerly went bare to the waist but now, if a woman, a *lamba* is worn just high enough to cover the breasts. Several of the family's most valuable *lamba* are wrapped around the patient's waist and, if a woman, she wears all the family jewelry. Both sexes wear a peculiar hat of matting which has a hole in the top (Fig. 23, j) and usually carry a staff. In some cases the *salamanga* is too sick to dance and some relative whom the *sikidy* ("divination") shows to be suitable takes his place. The *ombiasy* paints both, putting stripes of the same color on one and the other alternately. The substitute does not take the steam bath or eat the special food.

The *salamanga* leaves the house at sunset and dances until about eight o'clock while all the people clap and sing to help him. He then goes back into the house and is fed and put to bed. In the morning he dances again from about nine to ten o'clock. If, after several days, there are not enough people to clap and sing for him he cuts the night performance short. While he is dancing a woman who bears a fortunate name takes the horn containing the medicine and asperges him with it from time to time, using a sort of brush made from the *sihio* plant. This is so that he will dance strongly and work off the *salamanga*.

The *salamanga* is expected to feed all the people who help him. When word goes out that a rich person is afflicted in this way neighboring villages send messengers offering to come in a body and help on a certain day. The relatives fix days for each village, usually two or three days apart. When there are many people the salomanga dances all day until three or four o'clock, then does not dance at night. During the dancing other persons who have been salomanga are likely to be seized again, but asperging them with the medicine in the horn is enough to cure them.

The dancing continues a week or more, the time depending on the wealth of the salomanga and the seriousness of the attack. The last day of the ceremony is called *longonana biory* or "the woman's day," although men also take part. A little house, so small that the salomanga will have to crouch in it, has been built just at the edge of running water. All the plants which have been fastened to the center post of the house are brought down to it. The salomanga is conducted to the river by all the people, singing, clapping and dancing as violently as possible. He enters the little house and the ombiasy asperges him with medicine from the horn. When he has done this a woman called the *vady ombiasy* (lit. "wife of the ombiasy," although she is actually only his assistant) sets fire to the house. The salomanga leaps out and plunges into the water, diving seven times downstream and six times upstream. The ombiasy then rubs him with the rest of the medicine from the horn, washing off the paint, and paints white spots on his forehead and both cheeks. The banana and sugar cane plants are planted on the site of the burned house and it is afterward *fady* ("taboo") for the salomanga to eat their fruit, although others can. The people return quietly to the village and the sufferer is cured.

The salomanga andamaiamo has a mat bed made in the same place as the stretcher bed of the salomanga ondika. The eastern end of it is built up so that the head is high and the body on a slant. His food is cooked on the ordinary fireplace. The rest of the paraphernalia and ceremony are the same, but the latter is somewhat shortened.

The salomanga ondolo has no special bed or fireplace. He dances only on the first night, but longer than the others, usually from sunset to nine or ten o'clock. On the other days he simply takes the onoka ("steam bath"). The steam baths seem to be the essential feature of this variety of salomanga for its name, ondolo, signifies the silver steam bath. This is simply an honorific term for the bath and no silver is actually put in the boiling mixture. At the end of the period the salomanga ondolo bathes in his own house with water containing medicine.

755
787 The *salamanga menabe* is a form of possession by an ancestral spirit. The spirit speaks through the person possessed and prophesies coming misfortunes to the entire group such as pestilence, floods or the attack of an enemy. The *menabe* carries a staff with which he points out where bad *ody* ("charms") are hidden. During the seizure he is "like an *ombiasy*" ("medicine-man") but the state cannot be induced and he is not consulted regularly. A peculiarity of this form is that no one may wear a hat while the *menabe* is dancing. If he sees a person wearing one he tries to take it off and, failing in this, falls unconscious. He is revived by drinking and being asperged with water containing medicine.

158
828 The *salamanga sakalava* is rare and occurs only in the north. It is also due to possession by an ancestral spirit, but the possessed does not prophesy. The movements are the most violent of all and the victim vomits blood. This is caught and carefully kept, for if any of it falls on the ground the victim will die at once. Informants did not know the method of cure for this variety.

IX. WEAPONS AND WARFARE

WEAPONS

The Tanala Menabe have a number of traditions regarding the introduction of various weapons. According to these, the aborigines of their territory had no arms except wooden spears. These were made from *Lambinana*, a large tree with moderately hard, heavy wood, or *Anivona*, a small palm which has an extremely hard rind ⅛ to ⅜ inch thick. The latter wood is said to be somewhat poisonous, wounds received from it festering and healing with difficulty. The *Lambinana* spears were sometimes plain, sometimes forked, like those used until recent times for fishing (Fig. 2, d). The *Anivona* spears were simply pointed staves. Neither was barbed. 411 173

The first invaders are said to have been armed with *Anivona* spears, a peculiar missile weapon called *kitala* or *antsalaka*, slings, iron axes of two types and shields. The blow-gun came into use later, although still in remote times. Spears with iron heads did not come into use until near the beginning of the historic period. They were copies from those of the plateau tribes. Guns were obtained from the east coast tribes, who acted as middlemen between the Tanala and European traders. Swords and fighting knives were unknown until the Imerina domination and never became popular.

In historic times the principal weapon has been the spear, *lefona*. Spears of *Anivona* wood are still occasionally used and are said to be little inferior to those of iron. They are usually simple poles, 5 to 6 feet long and about 1 inch wide, ground to a smoothly tapering point. In a few specimens the shape of the iron spears has been imitated (Fig. 24, k). Iron spears are divided by the natives into three types, based on the shape of the blade (Fig. 24, f, g, h). They are usually crudely made and lack the spade-like butt piece characteristic of other Madagascar spears. Heavy spears (Fig. 24, f) were, and still are, used in pig hunting, the lighter forms only in war. They were always thrown, the axe being used for close fighting. It is said that war spears were sometimes poisoned, but the composition of the poison has been forgotten. 411 175

The *kitala* is of considerable interest. It seems to have no parallels outside Madagascar but may be distantly related to some African throwing knives. It is made from two straight spikes of *Anivona* wood about ⅜ inch in diameter and 16 to 18 inches long (Fig. 25, c). These are notched in the center and bound together 411

411 with cord in the form of a cross. The ends are ground to keen points. The weapon is thrown with an overhand motion and has an effective range of about 15 yards. Natives say that it is feared because, when it strikes a shield, it will pivot around it and wound the man behind. At present it has fallen into disuse, like all other weapons. The Antaisaka, on the southeast coast, have a similar weapon which they call *fisingo*. The Mahafaly also say that this was the principal arm of the Kimosy, the aborigines of the southwestern part of the island.

411 223 Slings are still in ordinary use for hunting birds. The Tanala are not considered especially good slingers by the other tribes, but I was often amazed by their skill. The maximum effective range seems to be about 75 yards while at 50 yards slings are as dangerous as firearms in native hands.

411 Slings are made from raffia or, less frequently, bast. Occasionally the pocket is formed by dividing the sling into two strands (Fig. 24, d) but this type seems to be rare. Most slings have a pocket about 4 inches long and 1½ to 2 inches wide at the center, tapering toward the ends (Fig. 24, e, e1). The cords are usually wrapped for 2 to 3 inches beyond the pocket on each side. The total length of the sling, folded for use, is about 30 inches. The release cord ends in a knot. The retained cord is longer and tapers to a slender tail which is wrapped around the palm. In about 50 per cent of Tanala slings one cord is of plaited and the other of twisted fiber. The natives could give no reason for this except that it was an ancient practice. [171] Slings from the Marquesas and Society Islands show the same peculiarity. Smooth river pebbles are used as ammunition. There are no indications that prepared slingstones have ever been used.

The ordinary axe, *antsi*, has already been described in the section on Wood Working (Fig. 10, d). It serves both as a tool and as a weapon and native men never travel without one. At the time the tribe was disarmed the natives surrendered their spears and other weapons readily, but maintained their right to carry axes, saying that they could not live in the jungle without them. In addition to the ordinary axes there are war axes, *antsi lava*. These have long heads pointed at the end, like a heavy single-edged knife. The handle is often as much as 3 feet long (Fig. 25, a). Such axes are now rare.

Shields, *fiaro*, have been obsolete for many years. They were round or slightly oval and quite small, the largest not over 2 feet in diameter. The body of the shield was made of soft, light wood.

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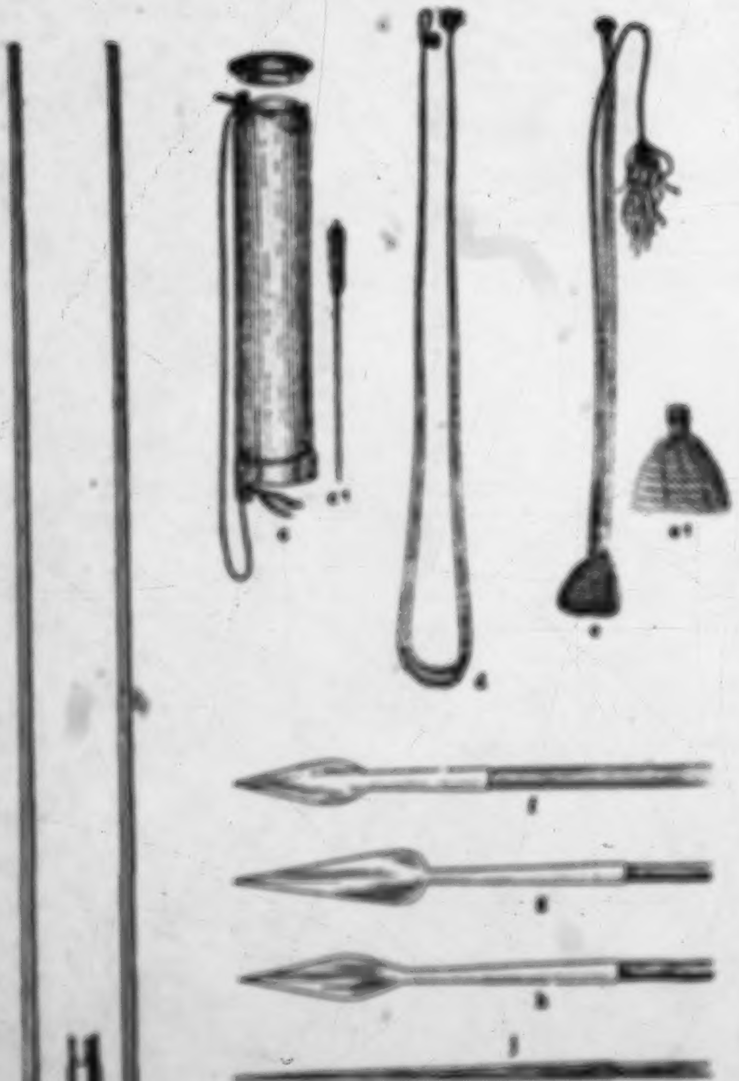

FIG. [illegible]. WEAPONS. a, Wooden Blowgun; b, Bamboo Blowgun; b1, Detail of Reinforced Joint of Bamboo Blowgun; c, Blowgun Quiver; c1, Dart; d, e, Slings; e1, Detail of Sling Pouch; f, g, h, Iron Spear Heads; j, Butt of Wooden Spear; k, Wooden Spear.

411 The outer surface was convex, to allow room for the handle. This was cut from the solid piece, its inner surface being flush with the rim of the shield (*Fig.* 25, *b*). The average thickness of the wood was 1½ to 2 inches. The face of the shield was covered with rawhide with the hair on. This was put on wet, stretched tight, and fastened with wooden pegs driven through it into the rim. Apparently, shields were never decorated. They were used mainly for fending spears, being too small to afford much shelter. However, one old [126] man said that in attacking a village the warriors would run in and crouch under their shields while they hewed a way through the stockade with their axes.

The blow-gun, *fola*, was an important weapon in ancient times. It was rarely employed in open battle, but was effective in the defense of villages and for sniping from ambush. The Tanala say that it was much dreaded by their neighbors in the plateau, who were unaccustomed to jungle fighting. It is still in constant use for hunting lemurs and other small game and few households are without one.

Two types of blow-gun are in use, natural tubes made from thick reeds or a long-jointed species of bamboo, and wooden blow-guns, which have to be pierced. The former are rarely over ½ inch in diameter and are 10 to 12 feet long. The septa are pierced with a hot iron. Such guns are often reinforced at the joints with rings of rawhide, made by drawing on sections of the skin from a cow's tail while wet (Fig. 24, b, b1).

The wooden blow-guns are thicker and shorter, but never over 1½ inches in diameter. They are made from shoots which have a pithy center or from whole stems of a small species of palm. The bore is hollowed out with an iron spike about 10 inches long and ½ inch in diameter. This is heated red hot and forced down into the soft center of the stem. As the hole becomes deeper, it is shaken down by striking the bottom of the stem on the ground. A number of reheatings are, of course, necessary. When the pith has been burned out from end to end, the spike is heated once more and is slid rapidly back and forth to smooth the bore and make it of uniform diameter. The ends of wooden guns are often reinforced with bands of rawhide, like those already described. Occasionally they are coated with melted beeswax, to make them more nearly airtight. I saw a few specimens in which the muzzle had been marked by scraping the wood flat on a strip about ½ inch wide and 1 inch long. This showed which side of the gun was to be kept uppermost in shooting and was also useful as a sight.

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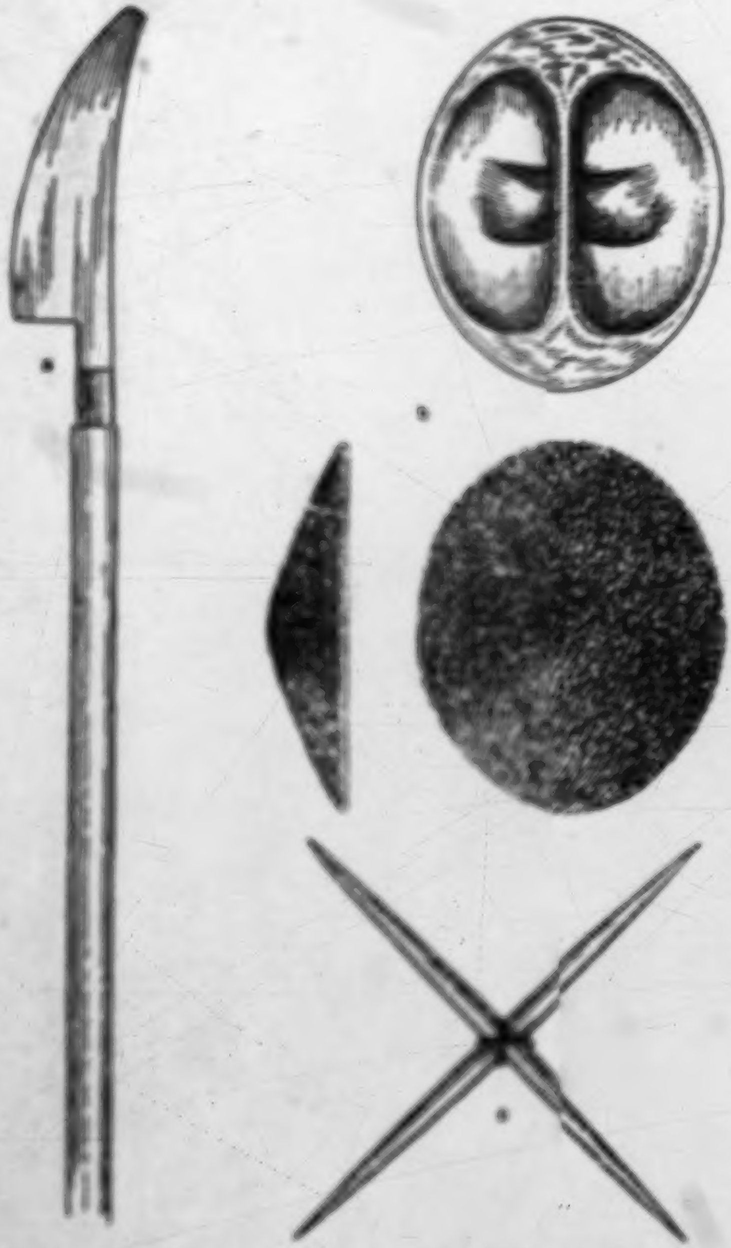

Fig. [illegible]. Weapons: a, War Axe; b, Shield; c, Throwing Cross.

411 The darts are made from splinters of bamboo, the smaller species being preferred because of their greater hardness. The shaft is about ⅛ inch in diameter and 10 to 11 inches long, tapering to a plain needle point. The feathering covers 2 to 2½ inches at the upper end (Fig. 24, c1). It is made of floss obtained from the half-[328]ripe seed heads of a small purple flower, one of the Cichoriaceae. When the shaft is ready for feathering, the maker takes a slender filament of raffia and ties one end of it to the top of the dart, holding the other between his toes. He takes a seed head, splits the calyx with his thumb nail, and holds it against the shaft. He turns the shaft slowly, winding the filament around it in a descending spiral and at the same time presses the floss out of the head with his thumb. The filament catches the floss and binds it firmly to the shaft. Lastly, the filament is wrapped around the shaft two or three times, below the feathering, and tied. A single seed head will feather three to six turns, about ¾ inch and new seed heads are fed in as needed. The feathering requires only ten seconds and the complete dart can be made in less than a minute.

There has been some question as to whether poisoned blow-gun darts have ever been employed in Madagascar. Attempts to increase the efficacy of the weapon are almost universal, but most of the substances used are not actually poisonous. The Sakalava use the blow-gun in war to shoot charmed pieces of bone and pellets of earth from tombs against the enemy, both of these being powerful evil charms. The people of the east coast soak the darts designed for bird hunting in lemon juice, believing that it irritates the wound. In several groups there are charms for both the gun and the darts and the latter are sometimes smeared with magical preparations.

278 411 I am convinced that the Tanala Menabe use a genuine poison on their darts. The tribes who have fought against them certainly believe so, and I have myself seen lemurs which had been killed by small and apparently superficial wounds. The natives are rather reticent in regard to it, but the following formula for making it was obtained from a man of the Zafindiamanana gens:

Take scorpions, wasps, ants of a large, solitary species having a very poisonous sting, small black water beetles, the end of a cock's bill, a bit of cloth from the packing of a piston bellows and the heart wood of the hiako tree, a species of ebony, and grind them to a paste. I suspect that the insects, at least, must be added in a fixed number for each variety, but the informant was unwilling or unable to tell. Apparently no charm is recited at any stage of the work. The insects

are selected for their poisonous qualities, but the other ingredients 278
are considered magical. The cock's bill gives the dart sure direction 411
and force, like a cock pecking, the rag from the piston bellows increases the force of the air, and the *hinika* wood, which is dark red, will cause the animal to bleed to the last drop.

The poison is made into a cake. Just before shooting a little of it is smeared on the head of the dart and a pinch put on the shooter's tongue. The Tanala say that this poison will kill a large lemur in four or five minutes and that it does not injure the flesh. It is possible to eat even the parts immediately about the wound. I suspect that the active principle in the poison comes from the *hinika* wood, or from some compound which it forms with the insect poisons, for the area within which effective blow-gun poison is known seems to correspond closely with the natural range of this tree.

In addition to the actual poison just described, there is a belief 411
in magical poisons. One informant told me that if a blow-gun 789
was rubbed with the juice of a certain plant all arrows shot from it would be poisonous. Another spoke of a medicine made from a certain root which was so deadly that if it was placed under a house everyone inside would suffer from stomach ache. The hunter inoculated himself with this by rubbing a little of it into a cut in his lower lip and thereafter all darts he shot would be poisonous.

The darts are carried in quivers of wood or bamboo with tight- 411
fitting wooden covers to protect them from the constant rain (Fig. 24, c). Their maximum effective range is 50 to 60 yards.

The bow seems to have been known to all the Madagascar tribes, but the Tsimahety, in the northern part of the central plateau, were the only ones who used it in war. It is said to have been their main arm. Elsewhere it was little more than a toy and was rarely [524]
used by adults. The only Tanala bow seen was a toy (Fig. 28, b), but it is said that large boys formerly used them for hunting. The hunting bows were about 3 feet long and roughly made. The arrows were about 2 feet long and unfeathered. They were usually simply whittled to a point, but one informant had heard of iron arrowheads, made from bits of thin metal with a socket for the shaft.

WARFARE

The Tanala were not lacking in courage or fighting ability, as 781
is proved by their long and successful resistance to the Hova empire, 721
but they were one of the least warlike tribes in Madagascar. A mélange of defeated gentes, numerically weak and politically divided,

72| they were content to remain in their own territory, only asking to
18| be let alone. They had little incentive for internal strife, for there was no great spoil in cattle to be gained and only the southern gentes were in reach of slave markets. The various political groups fought among themselves from time to time, but their wars were rarely of long duration.

70| The Tanala Ikongo seem to have been considerably more
72| warlike than the northern division and had a rather better military organization, patterned on that of the neighboring tribes. Sudaro Antoine says: "The king was the commander of the army and had charge also of recruiting. In time of peace there were no soldiers but in war all served. Before going on an expedition the king called together all the gens and village chiefs and informed them that an attack was projected against such and such a gens. He ordered the mobilization of the *fanalolahy* [reserve officers], the recruiting of soldiers, the purchase of guns and ammunition, if there were not enough, and the making of spears and the gathering of food. The gens and village chiefs promised to fulfill his orders and returned to their villages. On a day fixed by the *ombiasy* [medicine-man] all the soldiers, commanded by the *fanalolahy*, presented themselves before the king. He made them the following speech: 'I thank you for answering my appeal. I wish to attack such and such a gens and ask your courage and devotion. I hope that you will always be brave and valiant.' An armed *fanalolahy* then advanced and replied: 'Sire, have confidence in us. We will be prompt to carry out your wishes.' To show his strength and agility he threw his spear into the air and caught it again, advanced, retreated and danced about before the crowd." The actual speeches were long and flowery and a number of officers from different gentes and villages replied. "After the *kabary* [speech making] the king gave cattle to the soldiers. These were killed and the meat distributed among them. The *fanampany* [withers] and the *trafony* [hump] were given to the
726 *fanalolahy*. The morning of the day fixed for their departure the king put a silver bracelet on his *fatora* [sacrifice post] and addressed a prayer to *Zanahary* and the ancestors to give their protection and grant victory. The expedition took the road with the *fanalolahy* first, then the soldiers, then the king surrounded by the warriors of his household, and lastly the rearguard and the porters with the supplies. When they had arrived within a few miles of the enemy village they camped for the night in the forest or some hidden place. The *fanalolahy* sent forward patrols to study the position of the

enemy. When they had this information they divided the men into [726]
several sections, each under the command of a *famahidahy*. In order [719]
to be recognized the soldiers wore a *felana* [disk of white shell] on the forehead or hair. About 2 A.M. the army took the road again to surround the village and attack it. The king and his company remained at the camp. The signal for assault was a volley fired into the village. The people in the village seized their arms and hurried to the defense. The battle began, the people fighting with spears and axes. If the defenders were defeated they took to flight. All [727]
the enemy men captured were killed on the spot; only women and children were taken as slaves. As for the enemy king, even if the village was taken he never left his house. He put his weapons beside him and sat at the eastern door waiting to go out. If he had the bad luck to fall into the hands of the andriana, brothers of the hostile king, he was killed on the spot, but if he was captured by a commoner, he was saved. The soldier lifted the enemy king on his shoulders and bore him out of the village to help his escape. After looting, the village was burned and the *ompiady* [combatants] went back to their camp with the booty. After complimenting the army and the soldier who had saved the enemy king, the king gave the order to retire. When he arrived at his own village the booty was divided. The king received the largest share, then the *famahidahy*, then the ordinary soldiers. If there were prisoners the king always kept his share and employed them in his service. Those falling to the *famahidahy* and soldiers were usually sold or exchanged for cattle. The proceeds were divided among them. After the war the relatives of the prisoners sent their king to buy them back. The king liberated them for from ten to fifteen cattle each. If they were not ransomed, they were sold to the east coast tribes for guns and powder." These tribes sold them in turn to European and Arab slave traders.

It has seemed best to give this account in full, but a few comments [701]
are necessary. The *famahidahy* were simply warriors who had distinguished themselves in previous expeditions. The rank was conferred by general consent and not as a reward for any specific act of bravery or even for length of service. Although they acted as officers or leaders in action, their powers over the other soldiers were very indefinite and there was nothing like military discipline. The *ombiasy* ("medicine-man") certainly played a much more [754]
important part in the expedition than has been ascribed to him, but the extent of his activity is uncertain. Among the Menabe, as will be shown presently, he was practically the leader. The peculiar

701 arrangement by which an enemy king took no part in the combat and was saved by any commoner who captured him was due to the social organization of the Il onga. Among them one gens had attained royal rank and nearly all the kings belonged to it. The commoner was thus saving the life of one of his own king's relatives.

726 Among the Menabe the whole arrangement was looser and more democratic. There were no kings in the old days and war was decided upon by the influential men of the gens. Later, when royal institutions had been introduced, the king and council decided on war and the king then had a trumpet blown to summon the whole village to the public square. There he announced that they would make [791] war on such and such a village on such and such a date. The date was always a propitious one chosen by an ombiasy who had been selected for his skill in such matters and who would look after the magical details of the expedition. Messengers were sent to the other villages of the gens and to allied gentes. If it was a great undertaking all the able-bodied men of the tribe participated, if a small expedition each village furnished a quota fixed by the king. The *fanalolahy* seem to have had less authority here than in the south. To distin- [794] guish them from the other soldiers they wore a *felana* ("shell disk") and crocodile-tooth charm on the left side of the forehead and a broad bandoleer hung with charms (called *tamango*) passing over the right shoulder. There were no other war costumes, although all warriors wore charms. Painting for war was unknown.

726 782 On the day fixed the warriors assembled in a camp outside the village. This was usually near the village sacred place, where the ancestral stones were erected. There seem to have been no taboos in connection with the camp. Women and children could visit it and young men about to go on the expedition often celebrated their marriages there. Cattle were killed, the number depending on the size of the war party, and the best ox was chosen for sacrifice. The sacrifice was made at the ancestral stones by the regular ritual (see Prayer and Sacrifice). The officiating *mpisoorona*, the hereditary sacrificial priest, was chosen by the *ombiasy* from among the *mpisoorona* present, and he also advised whether the parts offered were to be grilled or boiled. The usual invocation was made to the gods and ancestors, but they were asked to bless the expedition and the chief against whom it was directed was named. The party sometimes remained in camp as much as three days.

726 791 The expedition left the camp at the exact moment set by the *ombiasy* and both he and the king accompanied it. The *ombiasy's*

ody ("charms") were carried at the very head of the column by a 726
man chosen because he had a fortunate name such as *Vonona* 791
("successful"), *Ndrembita* ("one who finishes what he has begun")
or *Tongalaza* ("honorable"). It was forbidden for anyone to pass
this man on the march. The *ody* were special ones carried on all war
parties and their power increased with success. At night the *ombiasy*
stayed with them in a special hut. After the *ody* marched the
fonaloloky, then the king and *ombiasy*, and last the ordinary soldiers.
When they had come close to the enemy village they went into camp
and sent forward three or four scouts to reconnoiter the position.
These reported to the *ombiasy* on their return and he arranged the
plan of attack and decided whether or not to split the force into
detachments. They spent the night in camp and attacked at dawn,
at a trumpet signal. Neither the king nor *ombiasy* took part in the
actual fighting. If the village surrendered with little or no resistance 727
it was not looted or even fined, but was taken as a vassal. If the
resistance was fierce and the attackers lost heavily, all the men
were killed and the women and children enslaved. As a special
severity the men's heads were cut off and hung up in the village for
the hawks to eat. In rare cases the tomb of an enemy village was
also burned, but this showed unusual rancor. The spoils were divided
on the return of the party, the rules being much the same as in the
southern division except that the *ombiasy* had first choice of the loot.
No ceremonies attended the return.

If a village accepted vassalage, the heads of all the families in 728
it went through a ceremony of submission. Water was prepared in a bowl with the same ingredients as for the oath of blood brotherhood. A spear was held in this head down, all the family heads grasping the shaft with the right hand. If there was not room enough for all, some of them held the left hands of those grasping the spear. The *ombiasy* of the victors tapped the shaft with a knife, repeating the blessings and curses of the blood brotherhood oath, except that the victors remained unbound by the agreement. An ox was killed and after taking the oath the family heads ate pieces of the liver. No ceremony attended its killing and it was not considered a sacrifice. Vassal villages paid no tribute but were expected to assist their overlords in war.

In addition to the regular war parties small slave-stealing raids 721
were rather common. Sometimes as few as two warriors would go to a village and lie in wait near the spring, seizing a woman or child and carrying it off. There was usually a pursuit and the practice

721 was a fruitful cause of wars. If the captive's village was too weak to fight, it sent some neutral to treat for ransom. Prisoners might [567] be exchanged against each other, or a family would give a slave of the same value for one of its members. The regular ransom was a silver chain reaching to the waist, or a number of cattle, ten being the maximum. Woman were always valued above men.

712 Villages were fortified with stockades and at least some clans also employed deep ditches outside the stockade, but this does not seem to have been universal. At the gate a narrow bridge of earth was left. This was broken down on news of the approach of an enemy.

X. AMUSEMENTS

TOYS AND GAMES

The Tanala have a number and a variety of toys. Although 524 these are, in theory, used only by children, they seem to retain a certain lure for adults. I often saw grown men and women playing with the less strenuous toys while there were no children present and when they thought they were not observed. On seeing me, they stopped at once and seemed as embarrassed as an American parent caught under similar circumstances.

A few of the more complicated toys may be made by men, to please their children. However, most toys are made by the children themselves. In this, the boys from ten to fourteen seem to excel, [462] displaying considerable ingenuity and a feeling for good craftsmanship. Girls rarely make toys. The use of various toys seems to run in cycles. At one time all the children in the village will be stilt walking, or playing with bamboo clappers, while a week later something else will have taken their fancy and not one of last week's toys will be in evidence. I believe the following list of toys to be [123] fairly complete, for during my stay at Ambohimanga I was on excellent terms with the children and enlisted their help to round out my collection.

Tanala children are fond of noise-making appliances. The most efficient toy for this purpose is a bamboo clapper, made from a 5-foot section of the largest variety. One end of the bamboo is split back about 2 feet and the halves held apart by a wooden pin placed inside, a few inches back from the outer end. A cord is fastened to the center of this pin, passing out of the bamboo through a hole about halfway down. When the pin is jerked out with the cord, the halves come together with a report like that of a small rifle. This toy seems to be used mainly by the larger boys (Fig. 26, *d*).

The bull-roarer, [illegible], is used mostly by small boys from seven 534 to twelve years old. It is made from a flat strip of bamboo about ¾ inch wide and 5 inches long, bluntly pointed at the ends. One end of this is attached to a slender stick by a cord about 2 feet long. The bull-roarer is swung round the head and makes a whistling, rushing noise of no great volume. It is sometimes used to frighten birds away from the standing crops, but has no ceremonial use or significance (Fig. 26, *c*).

524 Teetotums, also called *[illegible]*, are among the commonest toys, being used by children of both sexes and all ages and even by adults. They are made from flat pieces of wood in the form of two triangles joined at the apex. Small crosspieces are usually attached to the ends of the cords (Fig. 26, b).

Hoops are used by small children. They are of three types: a simple hoop made from a piece of vine or a withe bent into a circle and the ends lashed together, a hoop of twisted vine (Fig. 26, g), and a netted hoop. The first two are rolled along with the hand or a small stick. In the netted hoops the interior is filled with a rough network of bark cord to the center of which a short stick is fastened. The hoop is trundled along by this handle. The netted hoop seems to be the favorite of very small children (Fig. 26, e, f).

A wooden cross about 1 foot across is thrown into the air and lassoed with a loop of cord as it falls. The sides of the arms are usually notched, making it easier to catch. It is played by one person, who both throws and catches. This game is called *[illegible]* (Fig. 27, c). It is a favorite with boys and young men.

[171] There is a toy identical with the European diabolo. A double cone of wood is tossed and caught on a string between two sticks. The resemblance to the European game is so close that I suspect it may be an introduction, but the natives, who are usually reliable [882] in such matters, insist that it is old (Fig. 26, a). It seems to be a favorite game with adolescents.

One of the most important Tanala toys is the top, *[illegible]*, three types being in use. The simplest consists of a straight stick, 3 to 7 inches long and pointed at one end, which is thrust through a round, flat, wooden whorl, much like a spindle whorl (Fig. 27, f, j). The top of the shaft is grasped between the fingers and thumb and it is set spinning by a quick twist. Tops of this type are often very well made and the whorl may be carved or stained (Fig. 27, h).

Tops of the second type have a heavy, conical body of solid wood with a short stick projecting above. They are spun with a cord, which is wrapped around the projection and then drawn off rapidly. The cord passes through a hole in a flat strip of bamboo. The bamboo is pressed against the stem of the top as the cord is drawn off, insuring even tension (Fig. 27, d).

Tops of the third type are shaped like those of the second except that they lack the stem (Fig. 27, e). They are spun with whips of plaited bark. Top spinning seems to be limited to boys and young men.

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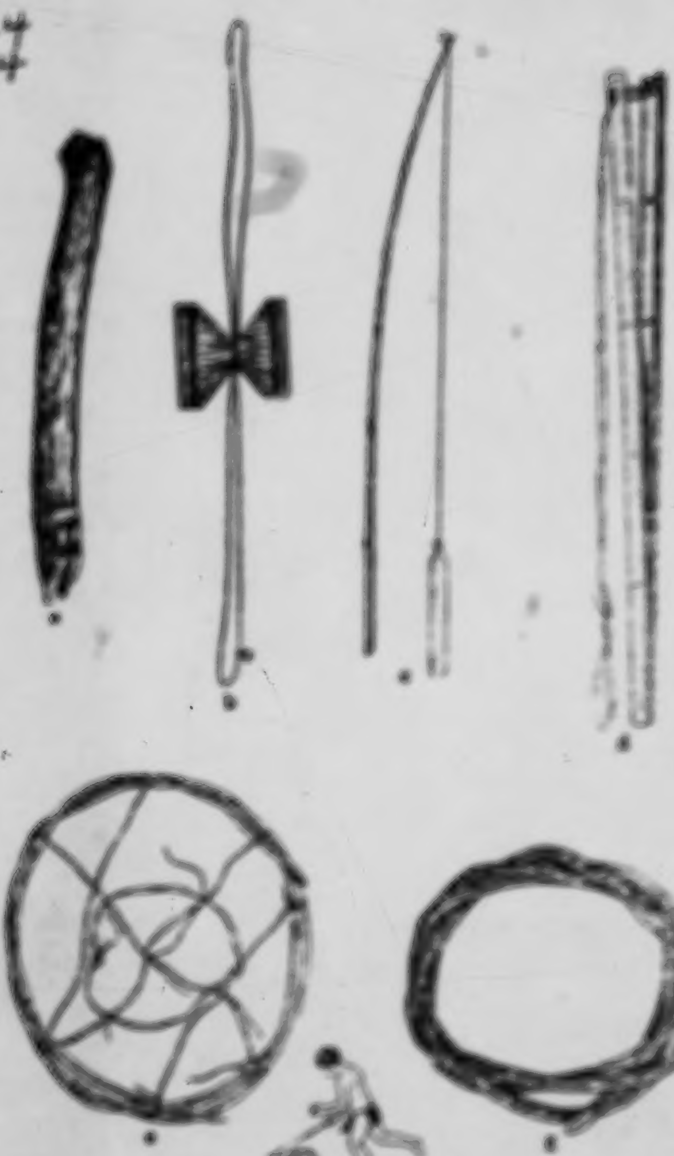

[illegible]

524 The top principle is also employed in a game of skill played by [525] men and older boys, often with wagers. The tops used in this game are made from large, flat seeds about 1½ inches in diameter and ⅜ to ½ inch thick. A round hole about ¼ inch in diameter is cut in one side of the seed and the kernel removed. A bone point is then attached to the lower side with beeswax (*Fig.* 27, *g*). The player spins the seed by inserting the tips of the index fingers of both hands in the opening in its top and giving it a quick twirl. The players stand and flip their tops at another seed of the same variety lying on the ground, or at a small hole or other mark. The player who strikes the mark with the bone point on his seed wins.

Stilts, known by a term which means literally "wooden feet," have been used since prehistoric times. They are made from saplings about 1½ inches in diameter and 5 feet long. About 18 inches from the bottom the stub of a small branch is left projecting as a foot rest. The upper ends of the stilts are grasped in the hands. Stilt walking seems to be a solitary sport, practiced mainly by young children.

Among minor toys may be mentioned slender forked sticks, used by boys to imitate cattle horns when they play at fighting bulls or bull baiting. A heavier stick, with a cow's hoof carved on the end, is also used to make artificial cattle tracks in games of cattle stealing or pursuing thieves (Fig. 26, a).

[117] Pop guns are also to be reckoned among the minor toys, although they are pretty certainly of European origin. They are made from sections of bamboo about 1½ inches in diameter and 2 feet long. A strip of bamboo is bent into U form and inserted in a slit in the top of the tube, to serve as a spring. This is drawn back and held by another strip of bamboo which is pivoted to the tube by a wooden pin (Fig. 28, *c*). These pop guns are used to shoot small stones or clay pellets.

An interesting toy consists of a short section of reed or small bamboo with the end split and spread into a cone. A pith ball is placed in the cone and the player balances it there by throwing back his head and blowing through the tube with exactly the right force (Fig. 27, a).

224 849 While I was in Ambohimanga the boys frequently brought me small models of traps which they had made. These were offered for sale and I doubt whether such models were used in their own play. They begin to make real traps for small birds and mammals at a (00) very early age. Tanala toys seem to be characterized by an almost

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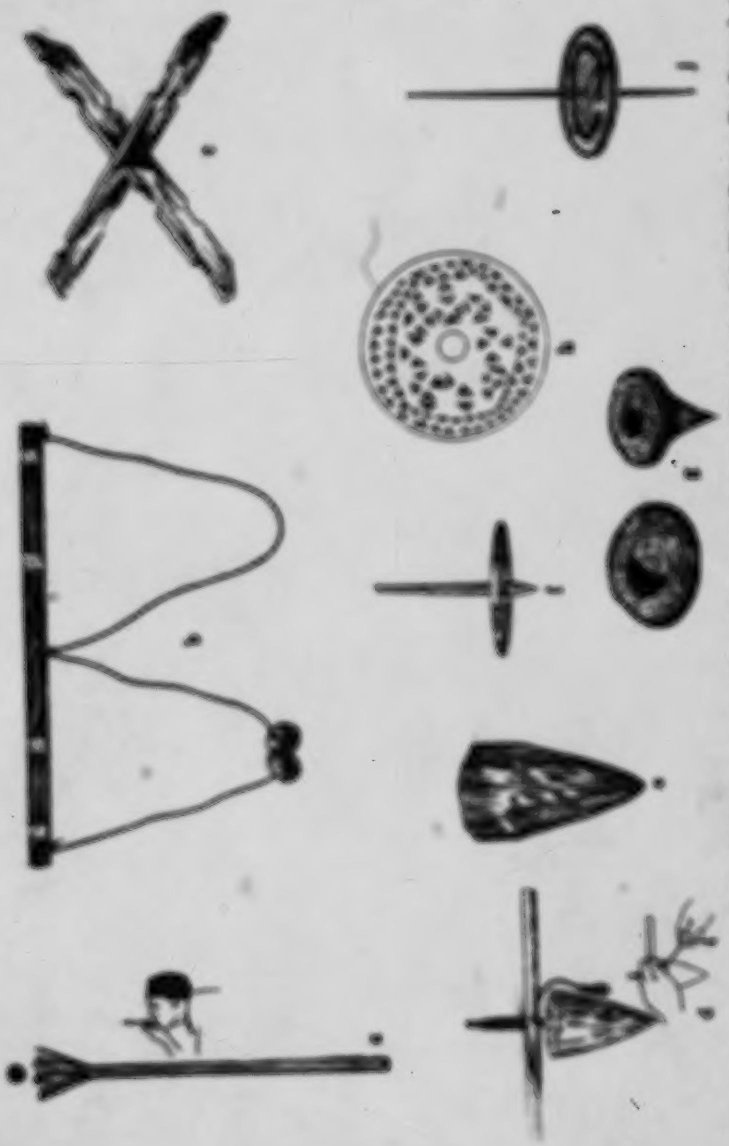

Fig 27. Tops. a, Pith Ball and Stick; b, [illegible]; c, Throwing Cross Top; d, String Top; e, Whipping Top; f, j, Wheel Tops; g, Top Cases; h, carved top

524 Tanala toys seem to be characterized by an almost complete absence of replicas of things used by adults. I never saw any small figures of cattle or chickens, although such playthings are very common among the pastoral tribes, or any miniature tools or utensils. The girls did not even have dolls.

At least one form of mechanical puzzle is in use (Fig. 27, b). The object of this puzzle is to transfer the seeds from one-half of the stick to the other without untying the string. I saw several examples of this puzzle, all exactly alike, and informants said it was the only one known to them.

String figures appear to be entirely lacking. I showed several children how to make some of the simpler ones, but the idea seemed to be quite new to them and they soon lost interest. I doubt whether any of the Malagasy made string figures in ancient times. The Imerina seem to be the only tribe familiar with them at present and they have only a few, very simple figures which they could easily have learned from Europeans.

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524 Boys begin to use the bow and arrow, blow-gun and sling at an early age. The bow remains a toy, used by older boys for hunting small game (Fig. 28, b), but the blow-gun and sling become, for adults, important weapons. Natives of all ages are expert in throwing stones by hand, but they have no ball games and most of them have great difficulty in catching an easily thrown ball. While still very young, boys begin to practice throwing palm ribs and reeds at a mark and the skill thus acquired is very helpful when, as adults, they begin to use the spear. Before the natives were disarmed by the French, men often engaged in spear-throwing contests.

526 Athletic sports are common. The boys of a village will divide into two groups and play at war, one group defending the village and another attacking. Scouts are sent out on both sides and the boys maneuver as in real warfare. This sham fighting is carried on under the direction of old men who prevent real fights and at the same time train the boys in the best way to take cover, advance under fire, etc. Aside from this, there seem to be no sports which require team work.

All the Tanala know how to swim, but it is rarely indulged in as a sport. I never saw them swim, as I was in their territory during the cold season, but was told that they used a crawl stroke. Apparently they do no fancy swimming or diving.

The Tanala Ikongo are fond of wrestling, although it is less important here than among the Bara or Sakalava. The wrestling is of the "catch as catch can" variety and a fall consists in having

[illegible]

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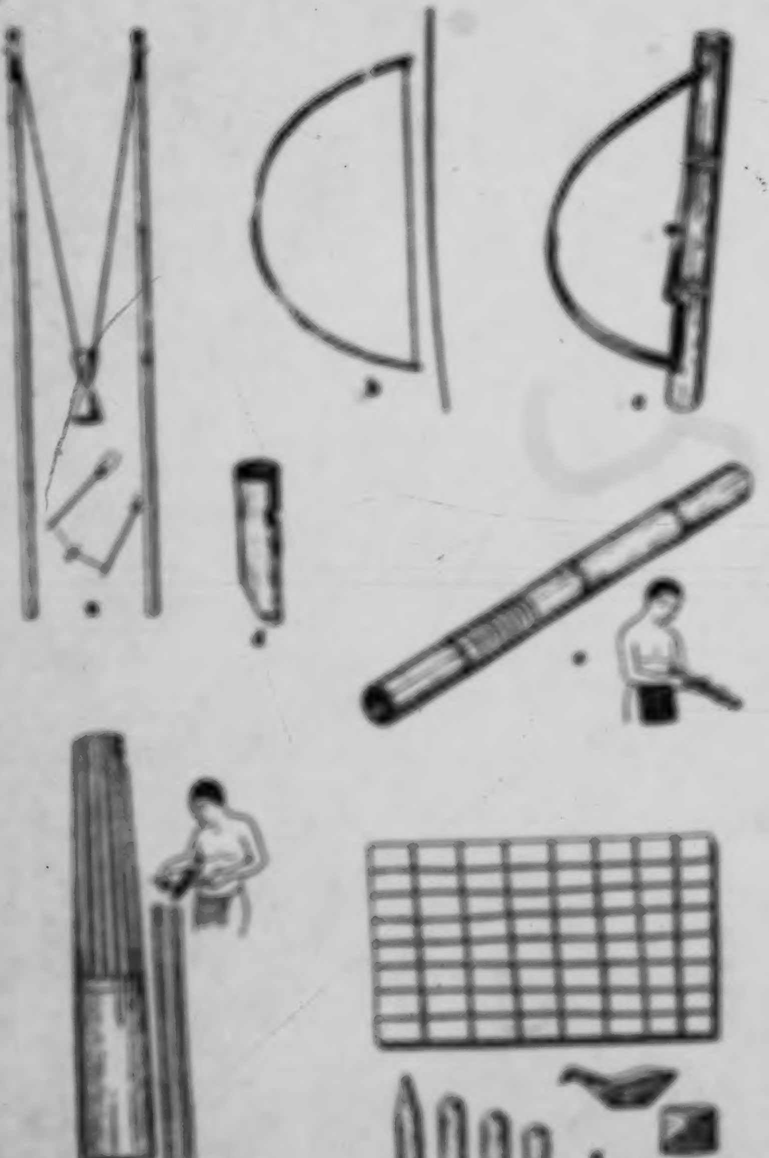
[illegible]



[illegible]

526 both the loser's shoulders touch the ground simultaneously. The wrestlers display more strength than science and apparently there are no named grips. Strangling or striking an opponent is considered unfair, but there are no other fouls and injuries are not uncommon. The bystanders act as umpire and will separate the contestants if they lose their tempers. However, the Tanala seem to have a fairly strong sense of fair play and the loser usually takes his defeat very good-naturedly.

The Tanala Menabe rarely do "catch as catch can" wrestling, preferring two milder forms of the sport. In one of these the contestants stand facing each other, seize each other round the waist, and try to trip each other. In the other, a man stands with his right arm extended and elbow bent, the clenched fist being held in front of his face. His opponent seizes the wrist with both hands and tries to throw him off balance. If he moves his feet, he loses the bout. This sport is also a favorite with the Betsileo. Both these forms of [764] wrestling are indulged in at funerals, but simply as a part of the general jollification.

Boxing is almost unknown, although it is a favorite sport of both the east coast and plateau tribes. In this boxing, blows are delivered with a wide swing, not from the shoulder as with Europeans. Although the fighting looks clumsy, the blows arrive with great force and I have seen both bones of a man's forearm broken in attempting to ward one off. Fighting with the feet, which the Imerina have brought to a fine art, is quite unknown to the Tanala.

Bull baiting should also be mentioned among athletic sports, [764] for it is regularly practiced at funerals and a good bull baiter possesses great prestige. A description of it will be found in the section on Domestic Animals.

541 Watching fighting bulls was a favorite amusement in ancient times, but seems to be rapidly becoming obsolete (see Domestic Animals). As far as I could learn, other animals were rarely pitted against each other. There is no systematic cock fighting here, although it was common among the plateau tribes.

524 There are a few games. Small children play a game with buttons or shells, etc., on a series of irregularly drawn connected rectangles. The pieces represent various members of a family: the husband, wife or wives, and the children. The husband is usually represented by a long, pointed object and the wives by round ones. Each piece represents the same individual throughout the game. The player moves them about the diagram at will, acting out long and com-

plicated plots. The family will be taken through all sorts of adventures, with marriages, births, deaths, building of new houses, and all the routine of daily life. This game is a pure exercise of imagination, comparable to our own children's "playing house" except that the player does not participate. Several children may play at it together, but the players are never identified with the characters and there is no element of contest. 524

Games of chance appear to be entirely lacking, but there are two games of skill, played by adults. One of these, *katra*, is known all over Madagascar, although the rules probably vary somewhat from tribe to tribe. The other, a form of chess, is certainly of Arab [177] origin and seems to be limited to the Tanala Ikongo and a few tribes on the southeast coast. *Katra* is played mainly by women [562] and older children, chess only by men.

Katra is played on a diagram having from twenty-four to forty positions which are arranged in four parallel rows. Many tribes employ regular gaming boards with pits at the positions and a larger pit at one end for spare pieces, but the Tanala content themselves with marking the positions on the ground. The pieces used are everywhere large, round gray seeds about the size of marbles. These seeds do not grow in the plateau and the tribes there import them from the east coast.

The Tanala normally employ thirty-two pits, arranged in four rows of eight each. The method of play can best be described with the aid of a diagram. In this the letters indicate the position and the numbers show the number of seeds in each position. Before beginning the game two seeds are placed at each pit.

1

I	*J*	*K*	*L*	*M*	*N*	*O*	*P*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
i	*j*	*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Diagram 1 represents the initial set-up. The first player selects a position at random, usually one in the back row, takes out the seeds and drops them one at a time into the other pits along the

524 row. He may start out either right or left, but this initial move determines the direction he must follow throughout the game. Let us suppose he begins with the position *L* and elects to move to his right. He takes the two seeds from *L* and drops one each in *K* and *J*. He then takes the three seeds from *J* and drops one each in *I*, *A* and *B*. Ending in *B*, which already contains seeds, he is entitled to take those of his antagonist's hole *b*, which lies opposite. After this capture he has five seeds, which he deposits successively in *C*, *D*, *E*, *F* and *G*. At *G*, he captures the seeds in *g*, giving him five in hand once more. He drops these successively in *H*, *P*, *O*, *N* and *M*. Taking the three from *M*, he drops them successively in *L*, *K* and *J*. As *J* has been empty, he is unable to move farther and "sleeps" there while his antagonist makes the next move. At this stage of the game the arrangement will be as follows:

2

I	*J*	*K*	*L*	*M*	*N*	*O*	*P*
3	1	4	1	0	3	3	3
A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*
3	0	3	3	3	3	0	3
a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*
2	0	2	2	2	2	0	2
i	*j*	*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Let us suppose that the second player begins at *l* and elects to move to the right also. He drops the two seeds taken from *l* successively in *m* and *n*, and the three from *n* in *o*, *p* and *h* successively. At *h* he captures the three in *H*, giving him six in hand, which he deposits successively in *g*, *f*, *e*, *d*, *c* and *b*. As both *b* and *B* are empty, he is compelled to "sleep" and the move passes to the first player. This player can begin at any point again, but must move to the right. If the last seed is deposited in an empty hole and there is only one seed in the antagonist's hole opposite, this cannot be captured, but if there is more than one in the player's last hole, the antagonist's single seed can be taken. The play goes on until one side or the other has gathered all the seeds. When an antagonist's front row has been cleared, the player takes seeds from his back row under the same rules as if it were his front row.

A single game may last for hours and the natives show considerable skill in figuring out the results of a movement many places ahead and selecting their starting point accordingly. The game is

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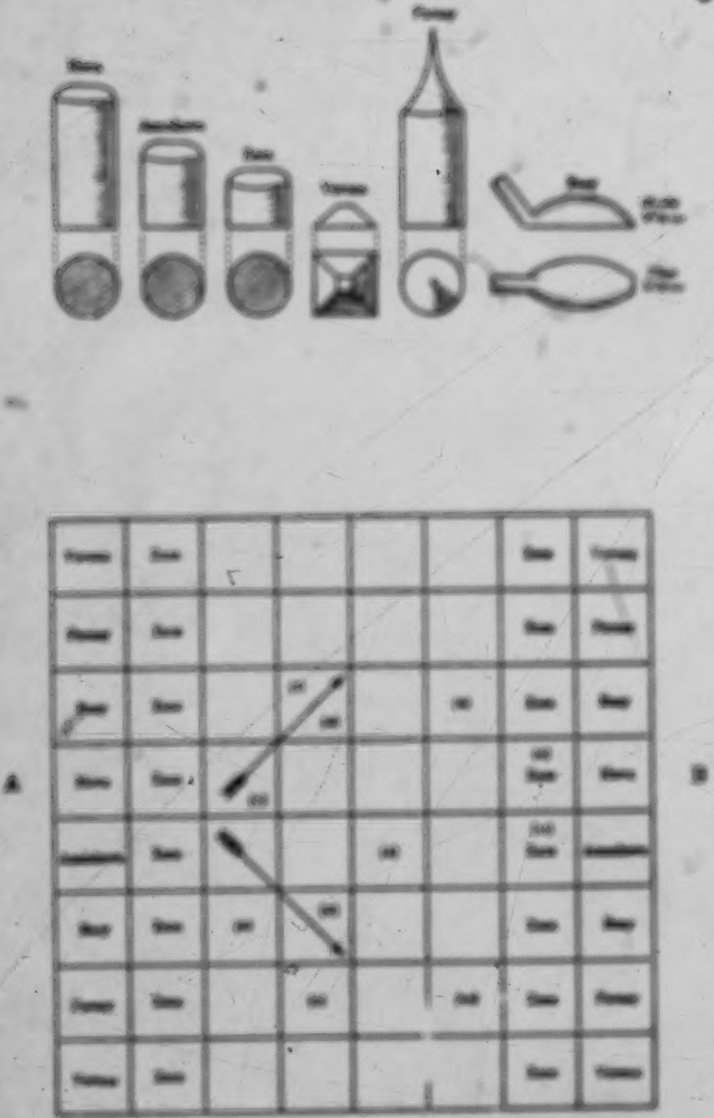

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524 sometimes shortened by agreeing that the player shall capture the seeds in the antagonist's front and back rows simultaneously. Thus if a play came out with the capture of the seeds at *D*, those at *L* would be taken simultaneously. The Imerina call this *katra hoanala*, but the Tanala seem to have no name for this variation.

Native chess, called *samantsy* (Figs. 28, *g*; 29) is not played by the Tanala Menabe. For the following description of the game, as played by the Hovas, I am indebted to an article published by [C] Captain Ardant du Picq, in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Malgache*, vol. X, pp. 287–288. Fig. 29 is copied from his article. Captain du Picq says:

"The game is played on a board divided into 64 squares. Each side has 16 pieces, as follows—8 *Zaza*, 2 *Vorona*, 2 *Farasy*, 2 *Boay*, 1 *Anandava* and 1 *Hova*. The shapes of the pieces are shown in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 29), also their arrangement on the board. Those of one side are of white wood, those of the other black. The general rules of play are that the game is won when the opposing *Hova* is blockaded; that one piece, when it takes another, takes its place; and that no piece except the *Farasy* can move over another piece. The moves of the various pieces are as follows:

"1. The *Zaza* moves from A to B, straight before it for any clear distance and captures neighboring pieces on the diagonals, as (1) and (2). When it arrives at B it acquires all the properties of the *Anandava* for moves and captures.

"2. The *Vorona* moves rectangularly for any clear distance and captures in the same way.

"3. A *Farasy* placed, for example, at (3) can move to (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10) or (11). It captures in the same way. It is the only piece which can pass over other pieces.

"4. The *Boay* moves diagonally passing over one square and captures in the same way.

"5. The *Anandava* moves diagonally square by square and captures in the same way.

"6. The *Hova* moves rectangularly or diagonally square by square and takes in the same way. It cannot be taken by any other piece and *Hova* cannot take each other."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Tanala musical instruments include stringed instruments, wind instruments, drums and rattles, all of a fairly primitive sort. The

simplest stringed instruments are the musical bow and a peculiar instrument called *pitikilangy*, for which there is no English name. 534

The *pitikilangy* (Fig. 30, *d*) appears to be limited to the Tanala and the adjoining tribes on the east coast. It is really a toy rather than a true musical instrument, for it is rarely played by adults. A flexible pole ½ to ¾ inch in diameter and 4 to 6 feet long is planted in the ground so that it slopes at a slight angle. Below its tip a pit is dug, 8 or 9 inches across and 4 to 5 inches deep. A cord of twisted raffia is attached to the tip of the pole and passed through the center of a small square piece of dry bark. It is fastened on the under side of the bark by a wooden crosspiece about 1 inch long. The pole is then bent over and the bark pegged down over the pit. The player plucks the taut string with the right hand and can alter the pitch somewhat by sliding his left up and down it. The pit and bark act as a resonator.

The musical bow, *jejilava*, is used by all the Madagascar tribes and is everywhere of very much the same form. The bow is round in section, about 1 inch in diameter at the center and tapering slightly toward the ends. It is from 4½ to 6 feet long. There is a single slender string made from twisted raffia. A movable resonator, made from the stem end of a gourd about 6 inches in diameter, is attached to the bow by a loop of cord which passes over the string and slightly compresses it. The end of the gourd lies directly against the wood of the bow (Fig. 30, *a*). This resonator is usually placed about 18 inches from the lower end of the bow, but the player will change its position until he gets the desired tone. In playing, the instrument is held vertically, with the resonator pressed hard against the player's chest and about half the bow rising above his head. The string is tapped with a slender stick about 10 inches long, usually made from the midrib of a palm leaflet. This is held in the right hand. The bow is pressed against the body with the left forearm and the fingers of the left hand used to fret the string. In the hand which wields the tapping stick the player also holds a peculiar rattle, made from a woven pandanus leaf containing a few seeds or small pebbles (Fig. 30, *b*). The rattle is triangular in section and about 3 inches long. It is grasped with the last two fingers and projects below the hand.

The *marovany* is the most complicated of the Tanala stringed instruments. It might be called the national instrument of Madagascar, for it is the favorite with all tribes. The Betsileo and Imerina call it *valiha*. There are two forms, one made from bamboo, the other

534 from the midrib of a raffia palm frond. The bamboo instrument appears to be the oldest and the Tanala use it to the practical exclusion of the raffia one.

The bamboo marovany is made from a section of large bamboo, about 3 inches in diameter, which is cut off 2 to 3 inches beyond the septum at both ends (Fig. 20, g). The strings are made by cutting two parallel grooves a sixteenth of an inch apart ending an inch within the septa. The strip of fiber between the grooves is then detached from the body of the bamboo, but left attached at the ends. Above and below the strings, the joint is wrapped with several turns of split vine, to keep the ends of the strings from tearing out. The number of strings varies from eight to sixteen, evenly spaced around the entire circumference of the instrument. It is tuned by inserting a bridge, cut from dry gourd shell, under each end of each string. The varying height and position of these bridges give different tones. I was unable to understand the Tanala method of tuning. Apparently each player arranged his instrument to suit himself. The Imerina and Betsileo now tune their instruments on the European scale, covering two octaves.

The player sits and holds the instrument on his knees vertically, with the upper end directed slightly outward, and picks the strings with his fingers. Among the Imerina, young dandies often permit the nails on the little fingers of both hands to grow very long, as much as an inch and a half, and use them as picks to reach the strings on the farther side of the instrument. Such nails also indicate that their owner does not perform manual labor, so they are highly valued. The player often sings and accompanies himself. The instrument has a pleasing tone and could easily be adapted to European music.

The raffia stem marovany is identical in principle with the bamboo one just described (Fig. 20, h). The section of midrib is first split longitudinally and hollowed out for about three-quarters of its length. The two halves are then lashed together by vine wrappings at the ends. The tone is rather inferior to that of the bamboo marovany.

The lokanga, a curious three-stringed guitar with a large resonator made from an inverted half gourd, and the true guitar, both seem to be unknown to the Tanala. The former is identical with an
[72] instrument used in the Congo, in Africa, and is almost certainly an importation from that continent. It is a favorite instrument with wandering musicians, who are fairly numerous in the plateau and
[177] among the tribes of the west and south. The guitar, from its form, is probably of Indian origin.

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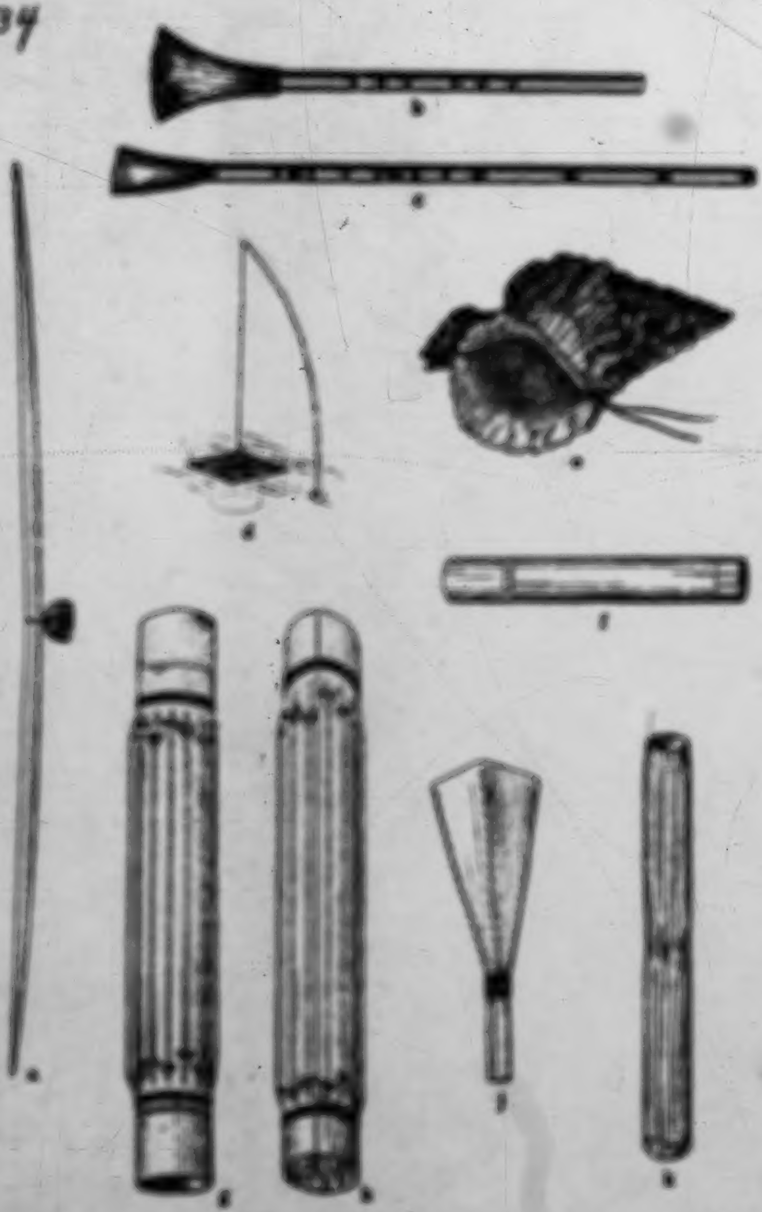


Fig. [illegible]. Musical Instruments. a, Musical Bow; b, c, [illegible]; e, Shell Trumpet; f, [illegible] Trumpet; g, [illegible]; h, [illegible]; j, [illegible]; k, [illegible].

534 The principal wind instrument of the Tanala is a flute, the *sodina* (Fig. 30, b, c). This is made from a section of bamboo about 2 feet long and ¾ inch in diameter, open at both ends. There are six evenly spaced holes. The finer specimens are often bound at intervals with rings of bark stripped from a sapling of the same diameter and drawn on while wet. Flutes may also have flaring, trumpet-like mouths made by attaching a section of hollowed-out horn or the stem end of a small gourd. These additions do not contribute to the effectiveness of the instrument and seem to be primarily decorative.

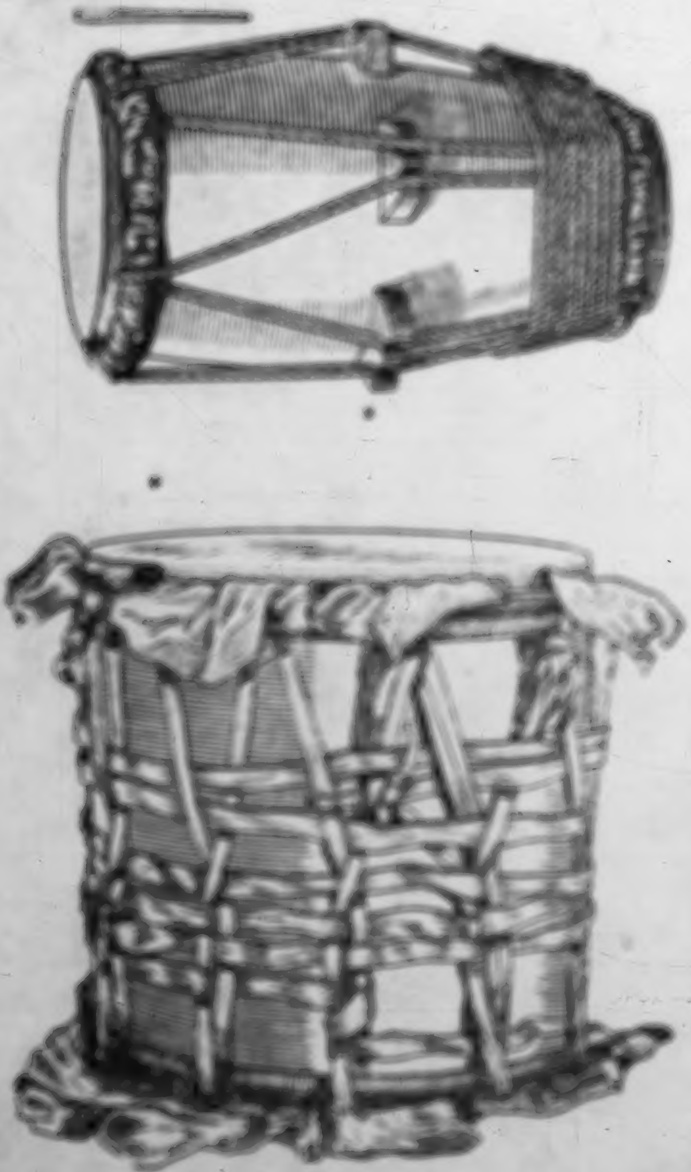
Bamboo whistles (Fig. 29, d) are now used as toys, but may well be of European origin.

Trumpets, *antsiva*, are important ceremonially. They are blown at funerals and sacrifices, and are used to give the alarm in case of attack and to summon the people to council. They are of two types: shell trumpets, which are universal in Madagascar, and bamboo trumpets, which seem to be peculiar to the Tanala. The shell trumpets are imported from the east coast and are highly valued. They are usually made from Triton shells and are often quite small, as little as 4 inches in length (Fig. 30, e). They are blown through a hole cut in the side a short distance below the apex. There is no mouthpiece. The bamboo trumpets are simple tubes about 1 inch in diameter and 6 to 8 inches long (Fig. 30, f). They are blown with a vibrating lip, like a bugle. An unskilled person cannot make a sound with them, but a trained one can blow a piercing blast audible for over a mile.

Drums are the main instruments used for dances. They are of two types, the *amponga* and the *hazo lahy* (lit. "male wood"). The *amponga* is beaten for social dances or simply for amusement. It is double headed, 18 inches to 2 feet in diameter and usually about 18 inches high. The body is a straight wooden cylinder, cut from a log. The heads are made from thin calfskin put on wet. They are held in place by double rings of heavy withes and elaborate lashings of rawhide (Fig. 31, b). In this type the heads cannot be tightened except by removing the whole arrangement of rings, etc., and replacing it, and this is rarely done. The *amponga* is beaten on one end only, the player using his hand or a short stick with a small ball of cloth on the end. It usually rests on the ground, although players sometimes carry it slung over one shoulder and hanging in front. It is played by both men and women.

[illegible] The *hazo lahy* are played only by men, who are usually at least semi-professionals. They are always played in pairs, the two drums

[illegible]



[illegible]

534 being of different size. The body of the drum is long and biconical. The maximum diameter comes at a point about one-third the length of the drum from its larger end. The total length is about 18 inches, with a maximum diameter of about 9 inches for the larger and 7 inches for the smaller drum of the pair (Fig. 31, a). The heads are made of very thin skin, put on with double rings of withes, as in the *amponga*. On the outer side of the smaller head of each drum there is a third ring, made from a roll of cloth. This is rather loosely fastened, with small cord, to the lashings below. The longitudinal lashings, which unite the two heads, are of bark or raffia rope, never of hide. They are tightened by means of notched stretchers, which can be slid up and down the sloping body of the drum to get the correct tension.

The drum is suspended from the shoulders of the player, hanging horizontal at about the level of his waist with the large end to the right. The large end is beaten with a small stick while the small end is simultaneously struck with the palm or knuckles. Four main tones, with numerous variations, can be produced by the two drums played in unison. Some of the drum rhythms are quite complicated. The *hazo lahy* are not used for ordinary social dances, although they do not seem to be definitely taboo. They are played at funerals and sacrifices, at the erection of memorial stones, at the dances preceding the setting out of a war party and on other serious occasions.

202 The Tanala have nothing resembling the drum signaling found in various other parts of the world. The only place in Madagascar where this occurs is among certain Mahafaly groups in the extreme southwest of the island and even there the code appears to be rudimentary.

524 534 Rattles are of two types, that used with the musical bow, already described, and dance rattles, called *kaiamba*. The latter are made from joints of bamboo or large reeds about 1 foot long and 1 to 1½ inches in diameter. In the bamboo rattles, a hole is burned through the septum at one end, seeds or small stones inserted and the hole plugged. In the reed rattles, one side of the tube is split while still green and the seeds or pebbles forced in. The slit closes as the reed dries. These rattles are carried in dances by the women, who shake them in time to their movements, and are also used as toys by children (Fig. 30, b).

A crude musical instrument is made by cutting notches along one side of a joint of bamboo. A sliver of wood or bamboo is rubbed

rapidly back and forth across these. This musical rasp is used only 534
by children and might be classed as a toy (Fig. 28, e). 524

Another children's instrument called *kididaiva* consists of a joint of bamboo with the outer end cut into a number of strips about 8 to 10 inches long and ¼ to ½ inch wide. The bamboo is cut away between these strips, forming slots of equal width. The player holds the uncut part of the bamboo in his armpit and beats the strips with two small sticks (Fig. 28, f).

XI. ART

531 The art of the Malagasy, although nowhere very rich or varied,
171 is pure art, in the sense that it is inspired entirely by aesthetic considerations. Aside from a few naturalistic carvings used as memorials to the dead, for magical purposes, or as decorations on containers for charms, their art products seem to have no religious or magical connotations. Even the Sihanaka, who have developed and named a variety of elaborate mat designs, claim that the purpose of such designs is purely decorative. In most tribes the designs are not named and no significance is attached to them.

Some tribes even go a step farther in aesthetic expression and make art objects which serve no utilitarian purpose. Thus the Sakalava manufacture small baskets of fantastic shapes, mats and fans embroidered with raffia, etc., which are never used, but which hang on the walls of the dwellings much like pictures in our own houses. The tribes of the far south take delight in elaborately decorated baskets and keep many empty ones standing on their shelves. The Sihanaka weave amusing figures of men and animals from papyrus and carve small paddles which the men carry as a part of full dress, like swagger sticks. The Bara even carve small images of men and animals which are pure bric-a-brac and take delight in deliberate caricatures, especially of unpopular white officials.

517 In contrast with these art loving tribes, the Tanala, with the
581 single exception of the Zafimaniry gens, seem to have very little aesthetic sense. The little that they have expresses itself in good craftsmanship rather than decoration. Their houses, although well built and neatly kept, are severely plain. Their tools and utensils are simple in form and devoid of ornament. Cloth, where woven, is decorated with plain stripes and even their mats and baskets are, for the most part, undecorated. Only wood carving shows any development, and that only among the Zafimaniry.

322 Until about twenty years ago the only Tanala who did any
531 wood carving were the Zafimaniry gens of the Menabe. Individuals in other gentes sometimes scratched zigzag lines on the handles of ladles and cut the handles of their spoons into ornamental outlines (Fig. 7, a, b) but such decoration was exceptional. In recent years there has been an increase in wood carving. At present there are a few semi-professional carvers among the Ikongo. These men have learned the art from the Bara. Their work consists, for the most

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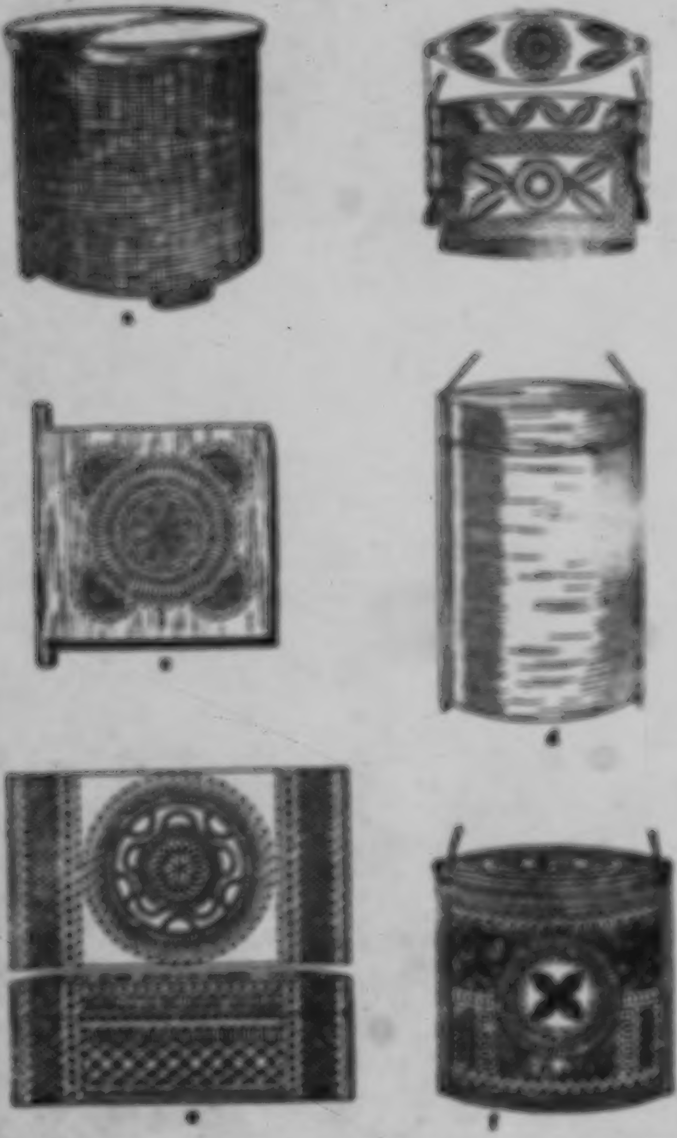

Fig. [illegible]. Carved Boxes. a, [illegible] Box; b, Small Carved Box; c, [illegible]; d, Plain Wooden Box; e, Carved Oblong Box; f, Large Oval Box, Old.

532 part, to small figurines of men and animals which are made for sale
322 to Europeans, and is indistinguishable from that of the Bara.

Among the Menabe, other than the Zafimaniry, there are no professional carvers. However, men who make large ladles for sale now decorate the handles of these with simple designs. The handle is first blackened for a few inches above the bowl. This may be done either by searing the wood with a red-hot iron and then rubbing the charred surface with a rag dipped in grease, or simply by rubbing with a mixture of grease and soot. The designs are then cut through this black layer, exposing the lighter wood beneath. They are large and very simple. They consist of bands, spots, etc., symmetrically arranged (Fig. 7, d). The carving is so shallow that when the black color has disappeared through use it is often difficult to tell whether the ladle has been decorated or not. I could not trace the origin of this type of decoration, but it is said to be a recent development. It may have been borrowed from either the Bara or the tribes of the southeast coast, both of whom use a similar technique. The ladle makers say that it increases the salability of their wares.

The Zafimaniry are excellent wood carvers and, in former times, decorated their houses, beds, and some of their wooden utensils with beautiful and rather complicated designs. At the present time wooden houses and the large enclosed beds (see Dwellings) are obsolete, but the
[439] carving of utensils is still common. Zafimaniry carvings are in demand with Europeans and civilized natives and they have recently begun to produce objects of new types, especially folding tables and purely ornamental boxes. The latter are rectangular, a shape unknown in ancient times (Figs. 22, a; 23, c; 24, a), or graceful modifications of the comb-topped type formerly used for tinder boxes (Fig. 23, a, b). At the time of my visit there was even a small factory at Ambositra, where several Zafimaniry carvers worked under the direction of the
[177] Imerina owner. The products of this factory were marketed in the capital. Although the carvings made for sale are technically inferior to the old work and rarely show the more complicated designs, there has been little European influence on the art itself. In over a hundred specimens which I examined I could not detect a single European motif.

322 The Zafimaniry say that their art of carving was already fully
173 developed when they entered the Tanala territory from the plateau.
531 However, they have certain stories in regard to its development which probably contain much truth. They say that, in the earliest times, they did not carve designs but decorated their wooden objects

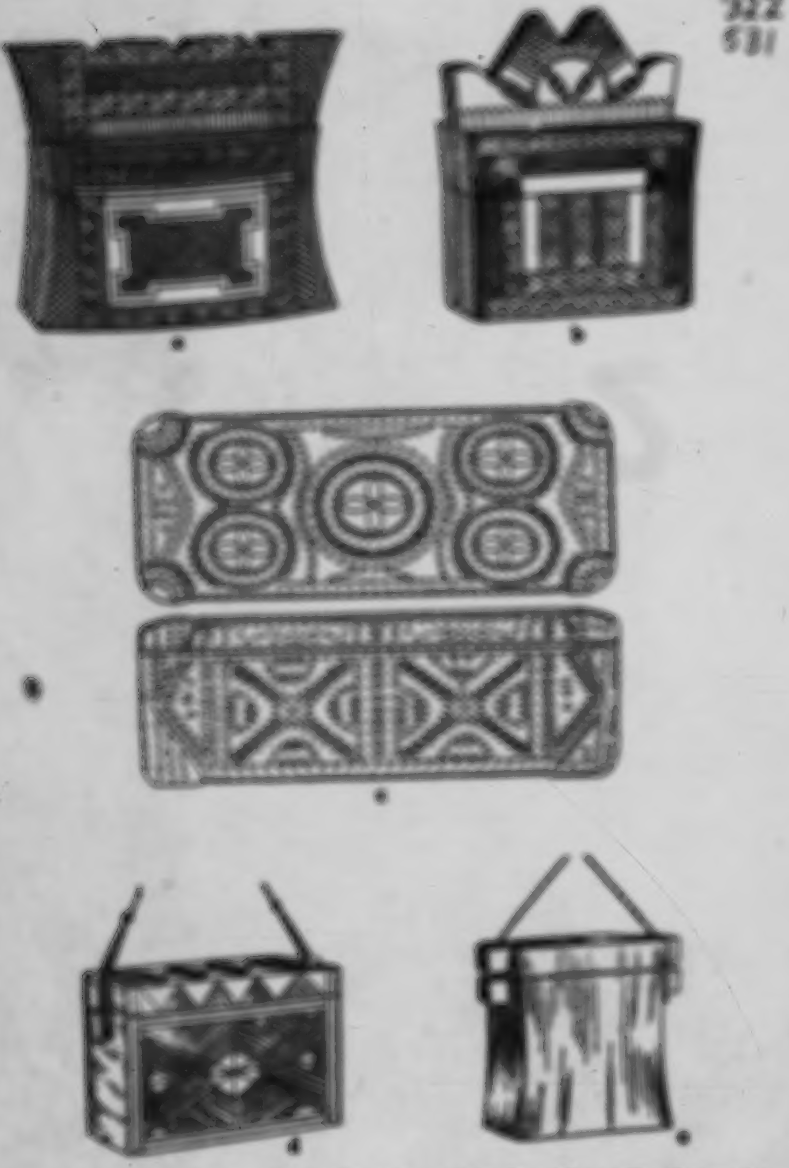

FIG. [illegible]. Carved Boxes. a, b, c, Modern Carved Boxes; d, Old Carved Box; e, Plain, Rectangular Box.

322 by means of a fluted plane (Fig. 11, e, f). This plane gave a series of shallow, parallel grooves. By changing the direction of the planing it was possible to produce cross hatching with the lines either diagonal or at right angles. The fluted plane decoration has only become obsolete in the last fifteen or twenty years. An example of it is shown in Fig. 22, a. The same effects are now produced with a very narrow gouge (Fig. 10, j). This is more laborious but gives much greater precision.

The earliest instrument used for carving designs was a small knife of the ordinary type (Fig. 1, f). At the present time this has been almost completely replaced by small chisels, usually of European origin. Most of these are straight edged, but turners' chisels, with a slanting edge, are just beginning to come into use. Both chisels and gouges are used without a mallet. The tools are usually held and used in European fashion, but it seemed to me that the carvers worked toward their bodies rather more than white artisans would have done.

322 531 All the old Zafimaniry carvings are made on hard wood. Soft woods are now beginning to be used, but only for export pieces. The surface of the wood is never blackened. Before the carving begins, the surface is smoothed and given a dull polish. Commercial sandpaper is now used for this even in remote districts. The ancient carvers worked free hand, carrying the design in their minds, but at present practically all of them sketch in the designs in pencil. This is done to save time. Formerly, large circles and arcs were outlined with an iron point attached to a piece of cord while smaller ones were carved free hand. At present, European compasses are in almost universal use.

The Zafimaniry do no carving in the round or even in modeled relief. The decoration follows the contour of the object exactly and the carving appears flat, due to a complete absence of curved surfaces. The designs are worked out by a combination of very shallow and moderately deep cuts with no intermediate levels. The shallow cuts are a sixteenth of an inch or less deep and are made with a gouge or the point of a knife. I saw only one instance in which the gouge had been used to outline a curve. Apparently the limitation of its use to straight lines is not due to lack of skill, for the carvers readily made curves with it on request, but to the fact that it is a substitute for the fluted plane. The latter could only be used for straight lines and the convention thus established has persisted. The knife is used for outlining circles and curves. Such outlines are usually simple

[See cf. Tanala, IIb, p. 85 - analyst]

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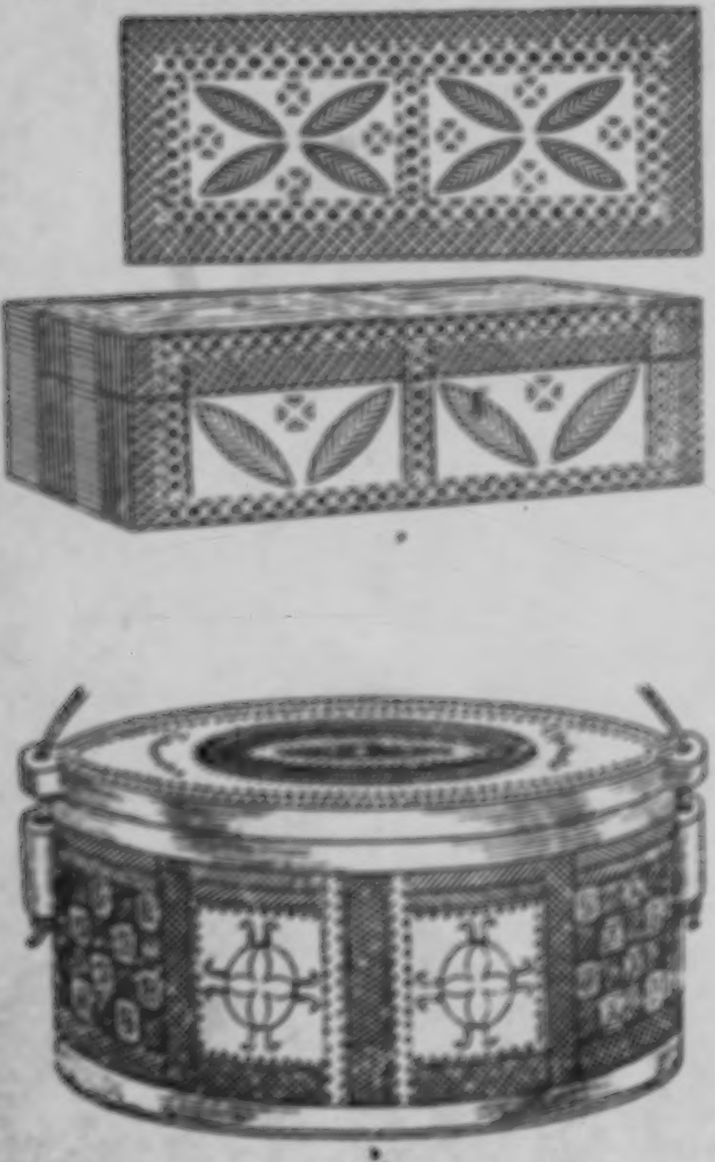

FIG. [illegible]. Carved Boxes. a, Modern Box, Side and Lid; b, Old Storage Box.

322 531 incisions, with none of the wood cut away. When wood is removed, the knife cuts are rectangular in section, with flat bottoms and straight sides.

Deep cuts are made with the chisel or, rarely, the knife. They are commonly in the form of small triangles, as in European chip carving. In making these cuts, the chisel is pressed into the wood vertically on two sides of the triangle and a chip removed by a sloping cut from the third side. The bottom of the cut thus slopes downward from the base of the triangle to its apex. The triangles are always intended to be equilateral. Crescents, ovals and circles are also deeply cut. In these figures, one side of the cut is always vertical and the other sloping. In circles it seems to be a common practice to cut away the interior in such a way as to leave a series of ridges radiating from the center to the circumference.

527 531 The Tanala have no appreciation of the aesthetic value of plain surfaces. The whole of a decorated object will be covered with carving and no large uncarved spaces are left even within designs. This tendency to over-elaboration is carried so far that in curved figures of any size the wide, sloping side of the cut is usually fluted with shallow parallel lines. In arranging the designs, the surface to be decorated is treated as a whole or, if very large, it is divided into a few balanced panels. Unity is maintained by the use of borders. Within the border, the surface is divided into smaller sections of balanced arrangement or, if the main design is curvilinear, it may be treated as a unit. If the area within the border is treated in several sections, these are usually divided off by bands of different design. The designs in each section are selected with regard to the whole pattern, so that good balance is maintained.

The designs are built up by the combination of a few simple elements. Those of most frequent occurrence are various combinations of parallel straight lines including simple parallel lines, arranged either horizontally, vertically or diagonally with regard to the design unit, cross hatching and herringbone patterns. These elements are used mainly in borders and bands between sections of design, but may also be used to fill details of large designs.

Almost as frequent as the parallel line combinations is a series of motifs built up from combinations of small triangles. These include simple toothed lines, zigzags, X-shaped figures and diamonds. These motifs are usually used in bands and borders, but the X figures and diamonds are sometimes employed for fill.

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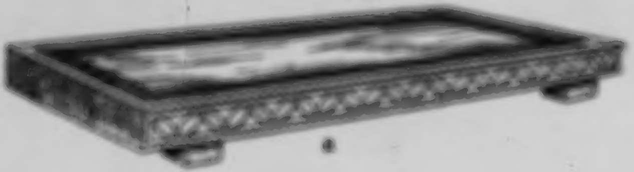

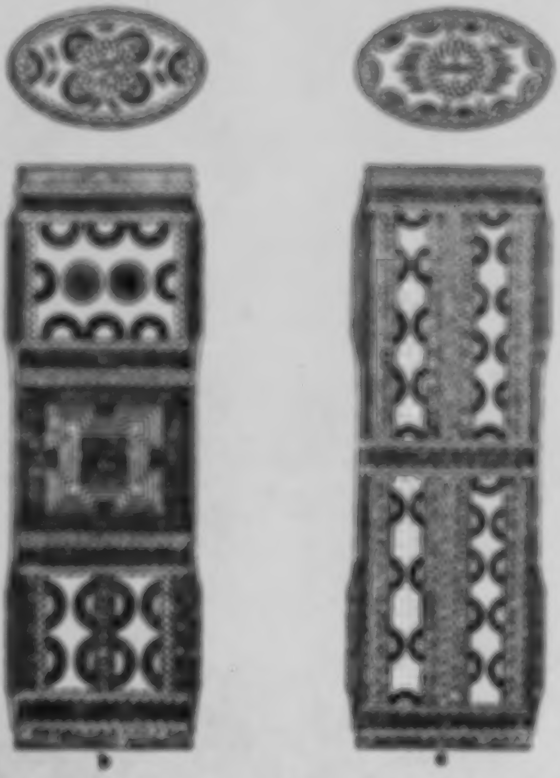

Fig. [illegible]. [illegible] and Boxes. a, Carved [illegible]; b, c, Modern Carved [illegible] Boxes.

531 Curved elements of design are used much less than straight and triangular ones. All the curves used in carving are arcs of circles. No irregular curves were seen and only one spiral, the latter on an object whose Tanala origin was questionable. Crescents are used as parts of larger designs, usually in combination with circles, but are rarely the central element in a design. Circles are rarely used except as the central elements of designs. Both circles and crescents are usually concentric. Many of the circle patterns are very elaborate, with a rosette or even a many-pointed star at the center surrounded by zones of other designs (Fig. 52, b, c, e, f). Pointed ovals are made from two shallow arcs intersecting at the ends. They naturally suggest leaf forms and the resemblance is often heightened by fluting the interior. They are used rather more extensively than circles or crescents. In one instance a band of them has been carved on the edge of a stool (Fig. 55, a). Four or six of them, radiating from a common center, give a flower-like form often used as the central element in a section of design (Figs. 52, f; 54, a).

The designs built up from the motifs just described are extremely varied. No two are exact duplicates. Most of them are based on the circle, or on the square, subdivided into a number of rectangles. There is also a limited use of large triangles, with many variations in the motifs used for borders and fill. Two designs deserve especial mention as distinctive in themselves. One of these is a large rectangle with rectangular projections at all corners (Fig. 55, b). This is usually carved with a border of one pattern and a fill of another. The other consists of a circle with eight antennae which are arranged in four pairs. These antennae radiate out from the top, bottom and sides of the figure. This design appears to be ancient and has gone out of use in recent times (Fig. 54, b).

The carved designs have no religious or magical significance and the modern carvers seem to have no names for most of them. The art is inspired entirely by a love of beauty and in the old days each man carved his own belongings in his spare time. Large objects such as houses, beds, etc., might be worked on intermittently for years until the decoration was complete.

531
179 In its technique, Zafimaniry art corresponds closely to that of the Betsileo, but there are several differences in design. The Betsileo rarely if ever use the pointed oval or the floral forms based on it. They make a much more elaborate use of curved figures, including the spiral, and frequently carve outlines of men and animals. These seem to be entirely lacking in the Tanala art. In view of the existing

similarities and the history of the Zafimaniry it seems probable that 531
the art of both groups was once identical, but that it has diverged 179
in relatively recent times. Betsileo wood carving is practically extinct while Zafimaniry wood carving is still very much alive. The older Zafimaniry carvings resemble the Betsileo ones much more than do the recent examples and I feel that the new work shows a simplification due to mass production.

The ultimate origin of this art cannot be determined at present. In historic times this particular style of carving was limited to the Betsileo and Zafimaniry, but with suggestions of it among the more negroid tribes to the south and west. Toward the east and north, it died out rapidly. Certain of the Betsileo designs, and the Zafimaniry circle with antennae, have an African flavor, but the chip carving, which is the most important technical element, can hardly be African. It rather suggests some Arab work, yet it appears to be lacking on the southeast coast, the region in which Arab influence was strongest. I know of nothing comparable among the Malays, but certain parallels can be traced between these Zafimaniry carvings and some Polynesian forms, especially the carvings from Samoa and the Cook and Austral groups. Other features of Tanala culture certainly suggest the presence of a culture as much Polynesian as Malayan and it seems possible that both the Polynesian and Zafimaniry styles of carving may be ultimately traceable to some common source.

XII. LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Conception

842 The Tanala do not believe that conception is possible without intercourse, but the average individual's ideas of the mechanics of conception are rather vague. It is plain that they have not thought much about it. The wisest say that the child is formed from the blood of the parents. The semen, which is regarded as a form of blood, mingles with the blood of the mother at her next menstrual 843 period and coagulates it. The clot is added to monthly and the foetus gradually takes shape from it. The eyes are the first parts to take recognizable form, appearing in the second or third month. The period of gestation seems to be rather accurately known.

842 The Imerina and Betsileo, who hold similar beliefs regarding the formation of the foetus, did not understand that intercourse was necessary. They did not believe that a virgin could bear a child, but held that the first intercourse began the process of child bearing and that after this a normal woman would continue to bear children at fairly regular intervals without male intervention. This idea was held so strongly that children born to an unmarried widow several years after her husband's death were accounted his actual children and shared equally in his property.

843 Intercourse continues during the early stages of pregnancy, but there seem to be no special rules governing it. It is not considered necessary to the growth of the foetus. Abortion may sometimes be practiced by unmarried mothers, but the natives are reticent in regard to it and I could not learn the methods. It is certainly rare.

842 [164] Sterility was formerly rare, but is now somewhat on the increase, due to the introduction of venereal diseases. It is commonly thought to be the woman's fault, but if a man marries more than one wife without having children it is recognized that the fault lies with him. The reasons commonly assigned are sexual excess prior to marriage and especially incest. Malevolent sorcery was never mentioned as a cause. It is considered a calamity and *ombiasy* do a thriving business in charms and medicines for its cure.

Pregnancy Taboos

843 During pregnancy both parents are subject to various taboos. The most important one for the husband is that he must not have intercourse with any woman, other than a plural wife, while his wife is

843 (cont'd) pregnant. To do so will make delivery more difficult. This rule is strictly observed and infraction entitles the wife to divorce with alimony. A man who breaks it will be denounced by the village as cruel and bad at heart and is likely to be suspected of sorcery, as in keeping with his general character. In addition, the husband must not cut out the septa of a bamboo to make a water bottle, or the child will have dysentery, or put a handle in an axe, which will give the child a birth mark, or hide a spade, which will give the child a hair lip.

The pregnant woman must not carry ginger root or a variety of bean with a black eye, in the front of her dress. The root will cause the child to suffer from polydactyly, the beans will make it have black spots on its skin. These taboos appear to be common to all the Tanala Menabe, but there are no doubt a number of others peculiar to various gentes.

BIRTH

844 Among the Tanala Menabe the mother, as soon as labor commences, goes to some vacant house in the village ward which belongs to her lineage. If there is none, she goes to her own or her father's dwelling. The doors and windows are shut and no man is allowed to enter. There are a few professional midwives, but these are only called in when delivery is difficult. Usually she is assisted by old female relatives. She removes all her clothing and kneels, grasping a stick or pendant rope. The attendants must not speak until after the afterbirth has been delivered. Then they begin to shout and clap their hands crying, "*Vita, vita!*" ("Finished!") The male relatives have gathered outside the house and when they hear this they begin to clap their hands and sing. In the old days guns would be fired.

The umbilical cord is cut very long and tied up to the child's neck with a string twisted from bark cloth. A male relative of the father takes the placenta and buries it deeply just outside and in front of the door of the birth house.

846 Immediately after the birth both mother and child are bathed in cold water. A deep, sloping bed of grass is piled up in the southeast corner of the house, between the fireplace and the wall. The mother is laid on this with her head and shoulders high and her legs drawn up. A large fire is built and kept up for eight days and nights. During this time the mother remains on the bed, leaving it only for natural needs. The Tanala can give no reason for this "roasting," which is a widespread Indonesian practice.

846 The attendant women begin to cook food as soon as the child has been delivered and the mother eats if possible. Three grains of uncooked rice are placed in the child's mouth.

No special ceremony marks the end of the eight days' retirement and the couple may resume sex relations at any time after this. In this respect the Menabe differ from nearly all the other Malagasy, who have a fixed period of abstinence, varying from three to six months.

844 Among the Tanala Ikongo the birth is always assisted by a professional midwife, called [illegible]. Her services are arranged for in advance. Her fee consists of a cock or large hen and a measure of white rice, paid immediately after delivery, and a sack of paddy which the father brings to her house some days later. The umbilical cord must be cut with a bamboo knife, [illegible]. The placenta is buried outside the village, and the man who carries it away must always look straight ahead, or the child will squint. The mother remains on the "roasting" bed seven instead of eight days. During this time she carries a knife and a burning rag, to frighten away evil ghosts, whenever she leaves the house.

DISPOSAL OF THE UMBILICAL CORD

When the umbilical cord dries up and falls from the child it is 846 carefully preserved. Each gens appears to have its own rules for the final disposal of the cord. This is considered important and informants were reticent on the subject. In the Manandriana gens the mother keeps the cords of her children as long as both live, placing each one in a small basket. If the child predeceases the mother, the cord is buried with it. At the mother's death each child takes his cord and disposes of it as he deems best. One informant buried his at the foot of his father's memorial stone, in the sacred place of his village. A person may also take his cord and put it in a raffia palm tree. The tree then becomes taboo and while he may use it, no one else can cut raffia from it for a period of two years. At the end of this time the cord will have been destroyed by insects and weather and the taboo ends.

The Zafindriantrova gens keeps the cords for a time, then hides them in bees' nests. This method is probably used by several of the other Menabe gentes.

Most of the Tanala Ikongo gentes throw their cords into sacred rivers. On the southeast coast each gens has its sacred river into which the umbilical cords of all children must be thrown. If this has not been done, the child is not accounted a member of the tribe, 846 no matter how pure its blood, and is debarred from burial in the gens tomb. Emigrant families will keep the umbilical cords of their children for years, sending them back for this rite when some member of the family returns. The Ikongo apparently do not do this and the whole rite seems to have less social implication. Probably both it and the idea of sacred rivers have been borrowed from the southeast coast in fairly recent times.

DESTINY OF THE CHILD

All the Malagasy have a strong belief in destiny and think that 777 the future of an individual is indicated by the day of his birth (see 847 vintana, pp. 212-214). The Tanala Ikongo believe this and put to death children born on particularly unlucky days, fearing that they will bring misfortune upon the family. The child is killed within a few hours of delivery, being buried in an ant hill or plunged head down into a jar of boiling water. Although there is strong social pressure, its destruction is optional with the parents and if it is allowed to live for two or three days it is thenceforth safe. Among the Menabe, on the other hand, the idea of lucky and unlucky birth days is still poorly developed. They claim that the vintana ("calendar for divination") is a recent innovation and several of my informants did not even know on what vintana day they were born. They say that they never put children born on unlucky days to death, and, although the practice may exist, it is certainly rare. If a child falls ill the ombiasy may say that the sickness is due to the child's destiny and bathe it with medicines to change this, but if the child is healthy and vigorous its birth day destiny is usually ignored.

Among the Zafakotry gens of the Menabe a child's destiny is 826 thought to be determined by its appearance at birth. The members 844 of this gens are normally dark. If a light-colored child is born the mother is at once suspect, but if its parentage is unquestionable, it is thought that it will grow into a malevolent sorcerer, leper or thief. Informants denied that such children would be killed, but I suspect [847] that they are disposed of often. Another gens, the Maromena, is extremely light, hardly darker than Mediterranean Europeans, and is said to have similar beliefs regarding dark children, but I was unable to verify this. Such beliefs offer a concrete example of the way in which a society may influence the physical type of its members.

Twins seem to be very rare among the Menabe, but there is no feeling about them. Being a twin has no influence upon a person's destiny. 845

NAMING

Among the Tanala Menabe naming practices vary somewhat with
553 the gens. In the Zafindotry gens the child receives a name two days after birth. There is no ceremony for this. This first name may refer to the day on which the child was born, or may be that of an ancestor on either side. If ancestral, it is usually changed in case of illness, on the principle that the ancestor is failing to guard his namesake properly. At about the age of puberty the individual
[861] takes a permanent name, always that of an ancestor. Several persons usually take new names together, so as to utilize a single sacrifice and save expense. This name is rarely if ever changed.

In the Manandriana gens young children are called *daiy*, *bao* or, if boys, *pakiko*, terms corresponding in a general way to our own "baby." A regular name is usually given from six months to two years after birth, but girls sometimes grow up and even marry without receiving more than a nickname. Children are always named after ancestors on either the father's or the mother's side, the two families disputing for the honor. Names already borne by the living are usually avoided, but there is no absolute prohibition. In some cases an ancestral name of good omen is selected by means of the *sikidy* ("divination").

Several children are named at once. An ox is killed and the sacrificial parts cooked and offered to the ancestors in the village square, not at the sacred place. The invocation is the same as that for ordinary sacrifices, except that the ancestors whose names are being taken are specially invoked and asked to guard their namesakes. The regular sacrificial priest presides. After the ceremony there is an informal feast.

The name taken at this time is usually kept for life, but an adult may change to another ancestral name if he wishes. To do this he makes a sacrifice, followed by a feast to the village at which the change is formally announced. After this it is bad manners to address him by the former name. A change of this sort will be made through a desire to honor some particular ancestor, as a grandfather, not to avert bad luck.

No information was obtained on naming among the Tanala Ikongo.

CARE OF INFANTS

854 The Tanala are extremely fond of children and take the best care of them possible with their limited knowledge of hygiene. Babies are

kept clean, being bathed at least once a day with cold water. Very 854
small children are carried in the arms almost constantly, husbands and older children doing their share. From the age of about four months on, the child is carried in the back of its mother's dress (see Costume). It is supported by the belt about her waist and sits with its legs on either side of her body and its head and shoulders protruding above the garment. It is protected from sun and rain by a small mat hung about her neck. These baby covers are always made by the women themselves and it is impossible to purchase one which has been in use, although this seems to be only a matter of sentiment on the mother's part. The child remains on the mother's back except at night or when it is being nursed. I have often seen women with children on their backs working in the fields, the baby sleeping soundly although its head was jerked to and fro by her movements. Children continue to be carried for some time after they can walk.

No clothing is worn under the age of about three years. Even when carried on the back, there is no equivalent for the European diaper. As soon as the child begins to be carried in the mother's [863]
dress it is slapped for befouling her and it learns to control its functions at a surprisingly early age. This was the only offense for which I ever saw a Tanala child punished.

Nursing seems to be continued as long as the mother's milk holds 853
out, although the infant is given a little rice or other soft food as soon as it will take it. There is no idea of regularity in feeding and the child is given the breast whenever it cries. It is generally believed that a new pregnancy has a bad effect on the health of the child next older. As many mothers are still nursing when the pregnancy begins, this belief probably has a sound basis of fact, but they ascribe the poor health of the older child to its jealousy of the coming one.

Infant mortality is excessively high and even prior to European 165
contact the population must have remained almost static. No statis- 169
tics are available but practically every family I knew had lost one or more children in infancy. The greatest loss seems to be from intestinal diseases, but small children also suffer from malaria. Adults, on the other hand, appear to be almost immune as long as they remain in their own districts. When they go elsewhere, they are liable to contract it, although usually in a milder form than Europeans.

CIRCUMCISION

All males are circumcised, but there is no corresponding operation 304
for females. The circumciser is a professional, but the trade is not

304 hereditary and no special prestige attaches to it. The tools are a small knife (Fig. 1, *f*), a flat piece of wood on which the cutting is done, and various herb remedies to stop the bleeding. The operation [757] is always performed in the cold season, as wounds heal more readily at that time. Apparently infection is rare and I never heard of death or even serious complications following the operation.

304 852 866 Among the Tanala Ikongo circumcision is a family ceremony. The operation may be performed a few days after birth, but is usually delayed two to five years. The members of the family assemble in the *trano be* ("village assembly house"). The head of the lineage brings a pot of rum or *betsabetsa* ("honey beer") to be drunk after the ceremony. He opens the eastern door of the *trano be* and addresses a prayer to the ancestors, asking that there may not be much bleeding and that the wound may heal quickly. If the father is rich and wishes to honor the child he may kill an ox, but this is to provide meat for the feast, not as a sacrifice.

After the head of the lineage has prayed, the father places the child between the horns of the ox, if one has been killed, or holds him on his knees, facing forward. The *mpamora* ("circumciser") lays the child's penis on his cutting board, draws the foreskin as far forward as possible, and cuts it off with a single stroke. The wound is then washed with an astringent liquid made from the leaves of an unidentified bush. The foreskin is thrown on the roof of the house or, less frequently, is pressed into a soft banana and eaten by the father. The circumciser's fee is a cock and 1.20 francs in money. If an ox has been killed he receives the head in addition to his regular share of the meat. The ceremony ends in a feast with singing, dancing, and liberal drinking.

Among the Tanala Menabe most of the ceremonial accompaniments of circumcision have disappeared. The annual ceremony, to be described later, is no longer held. There are itinerant circumcisers who travel from village to village. Whenever they see a child who has not been circumcised they ask permission to perform the operation and do so without formality. Their regular fee is a cock and 0.60 franc in money.

852 304 Until about twenty years ago each village held an annual circumcision ceremony at which all children born during the preceding year were operated upon. The ceremony was announced some time in advance and people from smaller or dependent villages would bring in their children also, so that as many as thirty or forty might be circumcised at one time. Before a child could be circumcised it

was necessary to have the permission of his maternal grandfather and 304
if it was impossible to communicate with him the operation would 852
be delayed until the next year.

Each village had a special sacrifice post, called *ziro*, which was only used at this ceremony. It was set up in the *kianza* ("village square"). The post was made from a hard, red wood and was really two posts, planted one behind the other and lashed together with bands of vines near the top and bottom (Fig. 23, l). The rear post was forked, in imitation of a bull's horns, while the front post had a flat top which was on a level with the bottom of the crotch in the rear post. Dimensions were variable, but the *ziro* was rarely more than 4 to 4½ feet high. There was usually only one *ziro* in a village, but there might be several. Men who wished to honor their sons would erect new ones. No ceremony attended their erection.

On the day preceding the ceremony an ox was killed and the sacrificial parts cooked. The top of the hump was also cooked, cut in two, and a half of it impaled on each point of the *ziro*. Part of the cooked meat, with rice, was then put on the flat top of the front post. The sacrifice was performed by a regular *mpsaotra* ("sacrificial priest") chosen from one of the families having a child circumcised. After placing the offerings he invoked first the gods and then the ancestors by the regular formula, announcing that they were being summoned on account of the circumcision and asking their blessing so that there would be little bleeding and no accidents. The rest of the meat was divided, one part being cooked for food during the all-night ceremony while the other was left raw to be worn by the spearsmen next morning.

After the *ziro* sacrifice, the people assembled in the *trano be* ("assembly house") of the village, which was beside the *kianza* ("square"). If it was not large enough to hold them all two or three other houses were pressed into service. The *trano be* was divided into two parts by a rope stretched from the east to the west wall. The northern half of the house was called *toeronolompady*. Here the children were placed, with their close relatives on both the mother's and father's sides, and the people who would take part in the morning
procession. In the southern half of the house, which had no special 304
name, friends from the village assembled and danced and sang all 852
night. The songs were meant to strengthen the children and insure 539
them good fortune when they grew up. One was:

Ombilahy masangitra
Mena maso fandradraha.

304 "An ox with sharp horns and red eyes always attacks." This would
852 make the boys grow into strong, brave and warlike men. Another
539 song was:

Rango, zaza, rongo,
Zaza rangoina tsimarera.

"Sing, child, sing. A singing child does not bleed much." This warded off excessive bleeding. In this singing two or three persons sang the verse, and the whole company came in on the last word, the
852 usual Malagasy method. Everyone feasted but there was little
304 drinking, for decorum had to be preserved. It was expressly for-
[834] bidden for the people in the north half of the house to have sexual relations during the night, even if they were man and wife, and for them to quarrel or make obscene remarks. Persons who broke these rules were fined 5.00 francs, for it would cause the children to bleed badly.

In the early morning, before sunrise, all the people from the north side of the house went down to the river, singing and dancing as they went. The group consisted of the children, each with his bearer, either six or twelve young women, and a guard of spearsmen, one for each child. The child was carried by a male relative: his maternal uncle, paternal uncle, father or elder brother, in order of desirability. The young women might be either married or unmarried, but must have fortunate names. The spearsmen were chosen for their prowess and did not have to be relatives. They were armed with spear and shield and wore a strip of raw meat, from the previous day's sacrifice, over the left shoulder and across the breast, like a bandoleer. This was to show that the children were of rich families and that meat was abundant. When the group arrived at the river the children's penises were washed. Men dipped up water and gave it to the girl water carriers in horn drinking cups which were either white or spotted with white earth. This water was called *ranondriana* ("water of the fall"), but any running water would do if it was taken so early in the morning that "no bird had passed over it." On the return the spearsmen went first, then the girls carrying water, then the children, carried so that they faced forward. Outside the village the procession was met by the people from the southern half of the *trano be* armed with spears, sharp bamboos and stones. There was a regular fight
[781] in which people were often injured or even killed. If one of the
spearsmen was wounded or fell, it was a bad omen for the child he represented, who would have a misfortune in war. Finally the column forced its way into the village.

When the column reached the *kianza*, it marched around the 304
trano be six times. Just inside the west door two men with spears 852
were stationed and these pretended to thrust at the spearsmen as they came in. The spearsmen entered one by one, as quickly as possible and went into the northern half of the house. The water carriers and children then entered without opposition. The circumciser stood on the edge of the *kianza*, outside the eastern "window" of the house. This window was as high as the door, but narrower. The water carriers passed out of the house again by the north door and stood beside the circumciser to pour water over the organs as they were cut. There was also a man who had medicine in the end of an *akondro fotsy* ("black banana") stalk. The bearers brought the children to the window one by one, the oldest child first. The circumciser drew the foreskin as far forward as possible and cut it off with a single stroke of a small, very sharp knife. A woman poured water over it and the man with the banana stalk squeezed a few drops of the medicine on it. The bearer then passed out with the child and the next took his place. The children were taken home and played no further part in the ceremony.

After the operation a feast was prepared in the *trano be* and eaten by all who had taken part in the ceremony but not by others. After this the cattle which were to be killed for the general feast were brought to the *kianza* and the white rice which had been prepared for it was heaped up there on mats. The head of one of the families which had had a child circumcised made a speech, thanking everyone for his help and offering him meat, rice and rum. The number of cattle to be killed was announced and two or three were slaughtered each day. The feast might last a week. All the people danced and sang and the children's parents were always expected to dance. After the father had danced, his close relatives gave him gifts, money and even cattle, to honor him publicly. The other dancers received small gifts, the Tanala custom at all feasts. There was a good deal of rum [786]
drinking and much sexual license. The latter was an accompaniment of most Tanala feasts and it was not considered as a part of the ceremony.

The ceremony just described was that practiced by the Manandriana gens, which had assumed royal rank. The ceremonies of the other gentes were simpler. They did not take women or children to the water and only the spearsmen were attacked on the return. The water carriers were men, who might bring the water in utensils of any sort. The Zafimaniry and Zafindiamanana gentes stationed

252 304 men inside the door of the *trano be* armed with clubs or rice pestles, not spears, and the Zafindriantrova omitted this feature.

The fact that a group of boys had gone through the circumcision ceremony together did not establish any bond between them. The Tanala have nothing suggestive of formal age groupings.

STATUS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

848 The Tanala consider it a calamity for either a man or a woman to be childless. Little social stigma attaches to an unmarried mother and what there is is counterbalanced by the desire for fertile wives. An illegitimate child is no hindrance to a successful marriage.

Among the Tanala Menabe a man who marries the mother as his first wife will normally adopt her illegitimate child, although it is not compulsory. If he takes her as a second or third wife and already has children, he will not adopt the child, but will contribute to its support. Illegitimacy does not affect the social status of an individual except in so far as it places him at an economic disadvantage. He shares equally with legitimate children in his mother's estate, but has no claim on that of his father, even if the relationship is well known. As land rights are transmitted exclusively through men and most cattle belong to men, the illegitimate child is almost certain to be poor. There are few opportunities for him to acquire capital even when adult and he can rarely rise to importance in the tribe.

Among the Tanala Ikongo much more social stigma attaches to illegitimacy. Such children are looked down on and jeered at and illegitimate boys find it hard to get wives. In at least some of the gentes, bastards are forbidden to enter the *trano be* ("assembly house") and are not considered full gens members. All the disabilities are, however, removed by adoption.

ORPHANS

736 The Tanala consider as orphans children who have lost a father or both parents. The loss of a mother is felt to be less serious. Children who have lost both parents are supported by their father's relatives, but they are often slighted and their lot is considered a miserable one. Fatherless children are somewhat better off, for the mother will work the father's land for their benefit.

ADOPTION

597 Adoption, *miantsozaza*, seems to be rather rare. It is practiced only by men who have no children of their own. Among the Tanala

Menabe anyone may be adopted. The adopter calls the village 597
together in the *kianza* or at his own house. He provides a liberal supply of rum and 1.20 to 5.00 francs in money. When all have assembled he fills a white drinking horn with rum and holds it in front of him while the head of the lineage announces: "Here is so-and-so, who is going to adopt so-and-so. He has brought the rum and the money." The rum is then passed around and the money divided among the whole village, the elders getting the largest share. The giving of the money is the real sign of adoption. After this ceremony the adopted child is in all ways the equal of a real one.

The Tanala Ikongo adopt only illegitimate children, their own [848]
or those of women they marry, and faithful slaves. In the case of an illegitimate child the man kills an ox, called the *tota-hitay*. The meat is divided into two equal parts, one for each of the families interested, and the adoption publicly announced. After this the child has all the rights of a legitimate one. Fathers often adopt their illegitimate children without marrying the mother.

Slaves may be adopted as a reward for long and loving service. In this case two oxen are killed, one for the village and the other for persons living in other villages but sharing the same tomb. The slave receives freedom and full social rights, but is expected to remain with his adoptive parent. If he neglects his adoptive father the latter may reject and sell him. His price will be divided between the adoptive father and the *Fokonolona* ("village council").

DISOWNMENT

Disownment is extremely rare but is practiced by all the Tanala 428
on occasion. It seems to be limited to adult sons and is considered 681
a desperate measure. The Ikongo disown only for repeated incest 593
or if a man has become a professional thief. Ingratitude or even violence to parents is not considered sufficient cause. The Menabe disown for the same reasons and for offenses against the parents as well.

The erring son is warned first by his parents, then by his father's parents and the elders of the gens and lastly by his mother's parents. The mother's parents are considered the last resort and their pleas are believed to be most effective. If he still fails to mend his ways, his father and mother assemble the village and announce: "So-and-so, our son, will not reform his ways although he has been counseled by his mother's parents. We disinherit him and he can go wherever he wants to." They then give rum and a sum of money to the village

593 council. This is partly as payment for their service as legal witnesses
428 and partly, it seems, to recompense the village for the loss in its man
681 power. The occasion is a sad and solemn one and there is no feasting.

The man who has been disowned is driven out of the village and gens and is likely to be informally executed if he returns. He loses all rights to his parents' property and cannot be buried in the gens tomb. The punishment is considered more terrible than death, for his soul is forever excluded from the company of his ancestral spirits and cannot partake of the sacrifices. He becomes a starving vagabond in this world and the next.

PARENTAL AUTHORITY

593 Among the Tanala Ikongo authority over the children is vested in the mother. If the father has given the mother an ox, he is entitled to correct and discipline the children, otherwise not. If he tries to scold or strike a child, either for disobedience or some fault, the mother formally warns him to stop. If he persists and really strikes the child, the mother may divorce him, taking the children with her and giving them to her next husband. As far as I know, there is no other group in Madagascar which has such an arrangement. The neighboring tribes consider it barbarous. They say that it arises from the fact that, until quite recent times, the Ikongo men have made no marriage payment to their wives' families. Their marriages were, therefore, nothing more than concubinage and the children, being illegitimate, belonged to the mother. However, the Ikongo regarded such unions as quite regular and counted the children as legitimate. The maternal right persists even today, when a bride price is regularly paid, and I believe that it may be a relic of a former matriarchal system, hints of which appear in other parts of their social organization.

Among the Menabe parental authority is vested in the father, although the mother seems to be most active in directing and controlling the children while they are small. The authority of the father continues, in theory, throughout life, but in practice a man's control over his grown sons varies greatly. He often has little if they live outside the village. Cases in which parents have been left in want while their children living elsewhere are prosperous are not uncommon. In general, the more property a man has the more respect and affection his children show him.

858 Children must show respect to their parents and there are a num-
861 ber of taboos governing their conduct. After they become too large

to be carried on the mother's back they must sit, sleep and eat in 858
the western half of the house. The eastern half is reserved for parents 861
and adult visitors. They cannot sit on the same level with a parent,
as on the same bench, but must sit lower. Among the Menabe gentes [513]
of plateau origin, who use elaborate wooden bedsteads, children must
not sleep on the parents' bed while the latter are still alive, or in beds of any sort before they are married. When a son marries, or when he becomes rich and wishes to set up an establishment of his own, he may not use a bed until he has made a new one and presented it to his father with 0.20 franc in money. If a child, even when grown, kills a chicken, he must give the rear half to his father and if his parents live at a distance it is salted and sent to them. I knew of one instance in which a son's failure to do this was the straw that broke the camel's back. His father, already tried to the limit of endurance, formally disowned him. The first piece of cloth that a girl weaves without help must also be given to her parents, but they compliment her and may hold a small feast in her honor.

These regulations are all ancient and it is believed that their 867
infraction is highly offensive to the ancestors. The child will be 783
punished by illness or bad luck even if the parents choose to ignore the offense. The evil effects can only be averted by undergoing a ceremony called *tahina*. The child comes to the parent with a gift of a piece of silver money and begs pardon. If this is granted, the parent takes the silver and puts it in a dish of water. He then counts: "*Isa* [one], *Rua* [two], *Telo* [three]," and says: "Grant that we may have good health and a good life, Andriamanitra, Andriamananary. I pray to you because our child has committed a fault before you. He has asked pardon, bringing silver. I pardon him now, so that the evil may be averted and nothing come of it, neither sickness nor misfortune. I pardon him so that everything may prosper, so that there may be a good rice harvest, and so that the children may be attended by good fortune." He then takes some of the water in which the silver has been steeped and asperges the child with it six times, counting. At the sixth sprinkling he says: "I bless you that you may have good health and good life."

CHILDHOOD

There is no formal separation of the sexes at any stage in their 857
development. Up to the age of five or six the boys and girls play together, but as they grow older they are drawn apart by their divergent interests. Half-grown boys and girls are rarely seen

857 together. Tanala children seem to be rather less active and are certainly less noisy than European children of the same ages. Small children and girls seem to sit about a good deal and usually play at quiet games. The boys are more active and organize themselves into gangs. The activities of these gangs are sometimes directed by old men, but this seems to be a matter of friendship rather than organized control. The gangs are not mischievous and I never heard of children stealing or destroying property deliberately. Fights are rare and are discouraged by the elders.

868 The boys hunt and fish, learn tracking, and also play at war. In the last they choose sides and carry on sham battles under the direction of old men who show them how to use their weapons and keep real fights from developing. In this way they learn how to throw the spear and get an elementary training in scouting and tactics.

866 Children receive no regular instruction and are rarely disciplined. They begin to help their parents at a very early age, although they do not seem to be set regular tasks. From the first they take part in the community life, attending all feasts and ceremonies. By the time they reach puberty they are able to do the work of adults and can assume their places as full members of the community.

PUBERTY

881 It is very difficult to obtain data on the exact age at which puberty occurs, but the Tanala seem to mature somewhat later than Europeans. The girls' first menses rarely occur before fifteen and sometimes not before seventeen years. Boys mature somewhat earlier. There is no suggestion of puberty rites or observances for either sex.

841 Menstruating women are not considered unclean and can take part in all sacrifices, etc. I could not discover that they were subject to any taboos. Married women usually sleep on the floor, apart from their husbands, at such times, but it does not seem to be obligatory. During menstruation women insert a plug of bark cloth or leaves into the vagina, removing it from time to time and washing out the blood. There is no interruption in their regular duties.

CHILDREN'S HOUSE

343 883 When the eldest child in a family reaches the age of fifteen or sixteen, even if not physically mature, the father builds a separate house for it to the east of his dwelling. Girls use this as a work room

for mat weaving, etc., and receive their friends there, but sleep in the 343
house with their parents. Boys live in it, coming to the father's 883
house only for meals. All the children of a family use the house in common, but the eldest has a prior right. When the eldest son marries, he usually takes this house as his dwelling and a new one is built for the remaining children.

Every establishment with adolescent children has a house of this sort. The Tanala explain it as a defensive measure on the part of the parents. The young people have many visitors who would be in the parents' way if they received them in the main dwelling.

CHASTITY

In spite of the free association between adolescents and the 836
almost complete lack of chaperonage, girls are usually chaste before marriage and sometimes retain their virginity to the age of twenty. Chastity in itself does not seem to increase greatly a girl's desirability, but girls are taught that intercourse at a too early age, and especially promiscuity, are likely to lead to sterility.

Among the Tanala Menabe the standard for married women 837
seems to be somewhat lower and a wife's unfaithfulness is taken rather lightly. The husband has the legal right to divorce her for it, but will not do so unless he has tired of her. He will scold or even beat her, but the matter soon blows over. He may beat her lover, if he is strong enough and angry enough, but he cannot bring a legal action against him or collect damages. At the same time, wife lending seems to be unknown. The Tanala Ikongo take unfaithfulness rather more seriously and usually divorce for it. This is probably due to their contact with the southeast coast tribes, who have a strong feeling against it.

Premarital chastity on the part of a man would be taken as a 836
confession of impotence and would make it difficult for him to find a wife. After marriage the standard for men is still low, except that they are expected to be faithful during a wife's pregnancy.

INCEST

Incest is a very serious crime, highly offensive to the gods and 684
ancestors. Although a first offense may be compounded by a special ceremony and sacrifice, a second or third offense is usually punished by disownment and expulsion from the gens. There also seems to be an unformulated belief that it affects the fertility of the lineage as a whole and may even injure its crops and limit the increase

684 [586] of its cattle. Incest is equally serious if it has been committed unwittingly, through the marriage of two persons who did not know that they were within the proscribed degrees of relationship. It is thought that such people will have no children or that, if children are born, they will die in infancy. If a relationship is discovered, the marriage is dissolved at once, even if it is of long standing, and the incest ceremony performed.

Among the Tanala Menabe the ceremony for incest is as follows: The guilty man provides an ox for sacrifice. This is killed at the village sacred place and the stomach taken out and cut into a thin, continuous strip, like a thong. The guilty parties are then seated side by side and the stomach-thong wound around the necks of both, drawing their heads together. The contents of the stomach are smeared over their heads and shoulders. The sacrificial parts of the meat are taken and grilled over an open fire. The sacrificial priest of the gens places the meat on the altar and invokes the gods by the usual formula except that, before repeating their names, he shouts "I call!" three times. After repeating the gods' names he says: "There are the two people who are guilty. They have killed an ox to efface their sin, as you have directed. It is for that reason that we make the sacrifice." He then invites the gods to eat and, after an interval, sends them away, calling the ancestors and going through the same formula. The rest of the ceremony is like that for ordinary sacrifices. The Tanala Ikongo are said to have an incest ceremony also, but no details were available.

BERDACHES

938 In both divisions of the Tanala there are a few men who have adopted the female role. They are very rare and none of them were known personally to my informants. Such individuals are called *sarombavy*. They wear the woman's regular costume and hairdressing and practice the woman's industries, such as weaving. The natives say that such men show feminine traits from birth and their attitude toward them is entirely neutral. They are neither despised nor considered marked out for any special activity. Informants had never heard of a *sarombavy* acting as a medicine-man or showing supernatural powers, but said there was no rule against their becoming medicine-men.

I believe that *sarombavy* exist in all the Malagasy tribes, but the natives are reticent in regard to them, especially with the missionaries. Among the Bara, who adjoin the Tanala on the southwest, *sarombavy* seem to be rather numerous. Three classes of 838 individuals are represented, hermaphrodites, homosexuals, and men who are impotent. The hermaphrodites adopt the role at birth, the others at puberty or later. The Bara have a class of professional male dancers, many of whom are homosexual. In extreme cases these become *sarombavy*, or fluctuate between the male and female roles. One dancer was pointed out to me as having been a *sarombavy* for several years, after which he reverted to male dress. He did this for economic reasons, for he could not dance while pretending to be a woman. I learned of another case in which a *sarombavy* had married a man and lived with him as a subsidiary wife, although the man already had a real wife and children. Apparently the first wife accepted the arrangement without protest.

By no means all *sarombavy* are homosexual or hermaphrodite. Women everywhere discuss the virility of their lovers and this is especially the case among the cattle people of the south and west, who allow great sexual license before marriage. If a young man is feeble or impotent, the whole community will know it and the women will jeer at him. If he adopts the *sarombavy* role, the mockery ceases. I was told of two young men who had done so after leading normal existences to the age of puberty. They had lived as women for several years without manifesting homosexual tendencies. The most interesting case which came under my observation was that of a man of sixty, a widower with grown children. He had led a normal life up to the age of fifty-two or three, when a long illness left him impotent and unfit for heavy work. He declared that he was no longer a man, adopted woman's dress, and learned to weave. This man was a Betsileo, settled among the Bara, and made a good living by selling his cloth to them. He was always referred to as a *sarombavy*, but seemed to command considerable respect.

There seems to be no instance, among the Tanala or elsewhere, of a woman adopting the male role.

MARRIAGE

Men normally marry between the ages of eighteen and twenty- 582 two and women between sixteen and twenty. By this time both sexes are physically mature and able to take care of a family without assistance. In general, men are a few years older than their wives, but any great discrepancy in age is frowned on. There are a few bachelors, some of whom live alone and cook for themselves, but they are ridiculed and thought mentally abnormal. Apparently all

582 [595] women marry. Under the old conditions of frequent warfare there was a shortage of men. The most desirable girls were chosen first and became head wives, after which the surplus was absorbed by plural marriages. Today, when the sexes are more nearly equal in numbers, plural marriages seem to be on the wane.

584 Among the Menabe, marriages were formerly arranged by the parents. Children were usually married young, before they had formed strong preferences. The consent of the child was not necessary, but old people say that it was considered cruel to force a child into a distasteful union and that such a thing was very rare in practice. Usually the young people were indifferent. At the present time marriages are arranged by the parties themselves, with the consent of their parents and the village council. They come to an agreement before notifying the old people. The natives approve of the new method and say that such unions are more permanent than the old type. Among the Ikongo, marriages are usually arranged by the young people, with the consent of their parents.

Courting takes place in the children's houses already described. Most of it is public. The boy and girl are rarely alone together for long, since the girl's brothers, sisters and friends are constantly dropping in. There is often spicy repartee and a certain amount of good-natured horse play, but little physical love making. The boy may make small gifts to the girl, but this does not seem to be necessary. At the present time matches are sometimes arranged in a few hours between boys and girls from different villages who have met at feasts or while traveling.

In arranging marriages economic considerations seem to be uppermost in the minds of even the young people. In general, a man is content if he gets a wife who is strong and industrious while a woman is satisfied with any hard working husband, the richer the better. Only ordinary congeniality is expected. What little romance there is seems to be practically limited to first marriages. Plural wives are taken on purely economic grounds and have to pass the scrutiny of the first wife.

Romantics are universally considered fools. Nevertheless, I heard of a few love matches in which couples had married in the face of opposition and to their economic disadvantage. If such a match is forbidden by the parents, the children will do everything possible to change their stand. Failing this, they will begin to have intercourse surreptitiously and continue until the girl becomes pregnant. The boy will then present an ox to the girl's father, if

he can afford it, and tell him that she is bearing his child. The 584
father will then consent to the marriage, to avoid scandal. Such conduct is considered reprehensible and the relatives on both sides will scold the couple. However, the trouble soon blows over and has no permanent effect on the social status of the pair.

Although marriages rarely begin in romantic attachments, affection 593
between married people is common and seems to increase with age. Quarrels between husband and wife are rare. They are drawn together by their love for their children and by their common economic interests. Divorce, although very easy, seems to be much [586]
less frequent than among ourselves.

The degrees of relationship within which marriage is proscribed 582
have been discussed under Social Organization. However, the force of the proscription varies. In addition to the absolutely forbidden degrees, there are certain relatives whose marriage is considered a semi-incest, likely to have bad results. This applies particularly to the descendants of two brothers. To remove the danger it is thought well to perform a ceremony to remove the ban.

Among the Ikongo this ban-lifting ceremony is called *fafy*. The 582
man provides one ox if the relationship is remote or two if it is close. 782
The animals are thrown and tied on the east side of the father's house, with their heads toward the east. The head of the lineage cuts their throats, invoking the gods and ancestors and explaining the reason for the sacrifice. The sacrificial parts are cooked and offered and the rest of the meat cut up and distributed raw to the members of both families involved. The man takes the heart and squeezes a few drops of blood from it on the forehead of the girl. She then takes it and does the same to him. After this the ban is lifted and they will have a prosperous life together.

Among the Menabe the ban-lifting ceremony is only compulsory when a man marries the daughter of his mother's sister's son, but it is thought advisable when he marries his father's brother's daughter or granddaughter. In ancient times an ox was killed and the couple sprinkled with the blood. This ceremony is now obsolete and the ritual has been forgotten. At present the head of the lineage puts water in a wooden dish with a silver bracelet and scrapings of the *hazomanga* (see Prayer and Sacrifice). He asperges the couple with the water three or six times, usually six, counting as he does so. He then invokes the gods and ancestors and announces: "These two [giving the names] wish to marry. They are forced to this by love and by the difficulty of finding mates of the allowed degrees.

582 782 Please pardon them and let them have children, both boys and girls. We ourselves have pardoned them, so that punishment for the infraction of the taboo may be averted." After this they may marry safely. If they marry without the ceremony, they will both become ill, or will be sterile, or any children born to them will die in infancy.

CEREMONIES OF BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE

584 Among the Tanala Ikongo the formalities of marriage are as follows: When a couple have decided to marry they notify their respective parents. Before giving consent the parents investigate: 1. The conduct of the future husband or wife. 2. Whether the person is free from other attachments. Previous wives are, of course, no bar to the union. 3. Whether the couple are within the prohibited degrees of relationship. If both families are content, the boy sends one or two men of his family, or close friends, to ask for the girl. The emissary does this in a set speech and when the offer has been accepted, presents her father with the *fiboaha* or bride price. This consists of rum, spades, etc., and is usually fairly large. The marriage is not legal unless the bride price has been paid.

From the moment the *fiboaha* has been given and received the girl is considered bound. No one else may ask for her in marriage. She continues to live with her parents for about a month, during which time she weaves the mats, baskets, etc., necessary for the new establishment. At the same time the prospective husband prepares the house and makes the wooden utensils. He visits her from time to time, working for her parents and especially bringing them firewood. This period of service is called *tota-hitay*. The young people may begin to have sexual relations as soon as the bride price has been paid.

585 When everything is ready for the new home a medicine-man is called in to indicate an auspicious day for the final ceremony. On this day the man sends three men and three women of his family to get the girl. These are called *mpanakatra*. When they arrive at the father-in-law's house there is an exchange of speeches. Finally the father-in-law counsels his daughter to behave well in her new home and invokes the gods and ancestral spirits, asking them to protect the couple and give them children. A simple meal is then served. After this the girl and the *mpanakatra* start to the husband's house, the *mpanakatra* carrying the baggage. This consists of mats and baskets, pounded rice, dried meat, etc.

The bride goes first to the house of the husband's father. She is seated near the fireplace, on the west side, while the husband sits near it on the north side. That evening the whole family eat together and the couple sleep in the father's house. The next afternoon they go to their own house. The wife prepares a meal with the food she has brought and invites the husband's family and all the important people in the village to attend. After the meal there is drinking and jollification. The husband usually presents her with an ox at this time.

Among the Tanala Menabe marriage is as follows: After the couple have agreed and told their parents, the boy's father goes to the house of the girl's father accompanied by two or three relatives, men or women. He makes the following speech: "I have come because our children love each other. Since the offspring of animals are to be caught in the forest while the offspring of men are to be found in the village, we have come to this house to catch this young girl. We have come to your house to ask for the hand of your daughter." The girl's parents will always receive the delegation, but they can refuse the request if they wish. If they accept, the betrothal ceremony is held the same day, in their house. The young couple are seated together on a mat facing east, the eastern door of the house being open. The relatives on both sides form a circle about them. The father of the boy pays the bride price to the girl's father. It is usually small. After the latter has received it, he takes a bowl of water in his hands and, facing the east, calls on the gods in regular order, as for a sacrifice. He then says: "We call you not to eat or to drink rum, but simply to assist at the marriage of these young people who love each other. Bless them and give them long life and good health. Let them have many children and grant them success in all undertakings." He then asperges the couple six times with water from the bowl, counting aloud until he comes to *enena* ("six") when he says: *"Eny hasina, eny travelomanana."* This is a regular formula meaning approximately: "May you have good fortune and life." He then calls the ancestral spirits and goes through the same procedure.

This ceremony is now considered a betrothal and prelude to the real marriage, but some of my informants said that there was no other ceremony in ancient times. After the betrothal the young people are free to have sexual relations, but the match may still be broken off. This rarely occurs, for it is considered disgraceful to the family doing so.

585 After the betrothal the girl continues to live with her parents, sometimes for as much as two months. The period is not fixed and in the Zafimaniry gens her relatives try to prolong it as much as possible. The boy visits her and sleeps with her. She spends her time in making her part of the equipment for the new house: mats, baskets, and a raffia mosquito net and pillows. The boy prepares the house and his share of the equipment. On an auspicious day a number of the boy's relatives go to get the girl. The two families usually agree on the number in advance, so that each will know how many people they will have to feast. The girl's family feasts the delegation at her house. An equal number of her relatives then accompany her to the boy's house, where they are feasted in turn. After the feast, all her relatives go home. The young people live with [591] the groom's father for a week, then go to their own house. Among the Zafimaniry the bride, on entering the house of her parents-in-law for the first time, presents them with her best mat and receives their thanks and blessing.

The ceremonies are the same for plural as for first marriages, but are usually somewhat less elaborate, with smaller feasts. The same holds for remarriages of widows or divorced women.

PLURAL MARRIAGES

837 Polyandry is mentioned in some Tanala legends, but it is interwoven with other fabulous details and there is no reason to believe that it ever existed as a recognized institution. In making the *mifanangena* ("blood brotherhood") pact, men often agree to hold their wives in common, but they rarely if ever do this when they live in the same village. The community of wives, therefore, resolves itself into reciprocal sexual hospitality. This is operative even during the absence of the husband.

595 Polygyny is still common. Under the old regime there was no limit to the number of wives the king might have. The last king of Ambohimanga had thirty-three. Other men are limited to four but rarely take the full quota. The number depends on their wealth and personal desirability.

It is permissible for a man to marry sisters as plural wives, but there is some feeling against it and it is rare. It is believed that sisters will be more jealous of each other than wives who come from different families. The Zafindriantrova gens has prohibited the practice in recent years, due to one sister having poisoned another who was a fellow wife.

Women seem to be quite as much in favor of polygyny as men. While they often become jealous of other wives, the practical advantages of the arrangement are considerable. There is no hired labor and slaves were never very numerous, so the housewife has always been confronted by an acute servant problem. After a woman has been married a few years and has small children to look after, she will often urge her husband to marry another wife to lighten her labor. Husbands may, of course, take plural wives on their own initiative, but before doing so they must have the consent of all their previous wives. The domestic arrangements in polygynous families have been discussed in the chapter on Social Organization. 595

DIVORCE

Divorce is easy and fairly common. It is not accompanied by any ceremony. Among the Menabe men can divorce at will, but the wife has a claim to one-third of the husband's property, exclusive of land. She retains this even if she has been guilty of flagrant misconduct. 586

A woman can divorce her husband either with or without cause. If she has no cause, she simply returns to her own family, who will receive and protect her. In this case she forfeits all property rights. Divorces with cause are granted by the village council and entitle the wife to one-third of her husband's property, land excepted. The recognized causes for divorce are: 1. Adultery during the wife's pregnancy. 2. Adultery when the husband has previously been detected and forgiven on a promise of reform. 3. Marriage of a plural wife without the offended wife's permission. 4. Spending a wife's day with another wife. This is considered more serious than ordinary adultery. 5. Severe mistreatment resulting in maiming or permanent injury.

In some gentes the extent of the injuries justifying a divorce is specified at the time of marriage. The Zafindiamanana say, in the marriage address: "We let you have our daughter, but her eyes, her hair and her limbs do not belong to you. You may use her and have her work for you, but if you put out her eye, or pull out her hair, or break one of her limbs, she returns to us."

In general, it is considered bad form for a woman to divorce her husband, even with cause. The village council will reprimand her and liken her to a crowing hen, although it cannot refuse to grant her the divorce if she insists. Usually the matter is settled out of court, the husband making her a public apology and gift.

586 In case of divorce, the children, other than nursing infants, always remain with the father. This coupled with the wife's alimony rights, does much to make divorces unpopular. Among the Menabe, the first husband's permission is not necessary for the remarriage of a divorced woman, but propriety requires that she allow some months to elapse before entering a new union.

Among the Ikongo the wife has no rights in the husband's property even if she has been the injured party, but the children can choose with which parent they will remain. Women cannot divorce without cause. The same causes are recognized as among the Menabe, except that adultery after a promise of reform is not accepted. In addition, divorces are granted for striking a child after the wife has protested, insulting the wife's parents, and making love to the wife's mother, either her real mother or one of her father's
587 other wives. If a woman has been divorced for adultery, her first husband's permission is necessary for her remarriage. If she wishes to marry her lover, the husband may forbid it, out of spite. Her family will intercede for her and the lover will try to win his consent with gifts. If the woman has divorced her husband, or has been divorced for any cause other than adultery, his consent is not necessary.

REMARRIAGE

Widows and widowers usually remarry unless they are too old. The ceremonies in the case of a young widow are the same as those for a first marriage. Middle-aged widows will often go to live with men without any ceremony and do not seem to suffer socially. It is felt that they are old enough to know their own minds and the family is usually glad to have someone else support them. A widow may not marry within a year of her husband's death. There is no fixed time for widowers, but it is considered very bad form for them to marry within less than six months.

Both widows and widowers are expected to ask the permission of the deceased spouse's family before remarrying. In the case of widowers, this is only a polite formality, intended to honor the dead. The same is true for childless widows. In the case of widows with children, the first husband's relatives cannot absolutely forbid the marriage, but may oppose it if they think the new husband will not make a good stepfather. They will insist that the children be left with them, or that the new husband come and live in their ward.

BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

The Tanala, like all Madagascar tribes, attach great importance 608 to oaths of brotherhood, called *mifanangena*. Entering such a bond is a personal matter. The permission of the family is not necessary. It seems to be a genuine expression of affection and I never heard of its being used for political purposes or personal gain. Brotherhood may be sworn by two men—the commonest form—by two women, or by a man and a woman. Persons of the same social class can take the oath, also a noble and a commoner, or a commoner and a slave, but not a noble and a slave.

Brotherhood between a man and a woman is rather rare. It is practically limited to couples who love each other but are precluded from marrying. Such people may be within the proscribed degrees of relationship, or the woman may be already married and unwilling to leave her husband because of their children. A couple who have taken the brotherhood oath are thenceforth debarred from having sexual relations. To do so would be to commit incest of a particularly bad sort. The ancestral spirits would punish both by death at an early date. After taking the oath the man and woman can be together as much as they wish without scandal. The man can even come and live in her house in the absence of her husband. The only exception to the rule against oath brother and sister having sexual relations is in the case of married people who take the oath with each other as an expression of devotion. This occurs, but is extremely rare. I was told of one couple who had lived together for several years without children. The man could not afford a plural wife, so they divorced each other, took the oath of brotherhood, and then each remarried.

Persons who have taken the oath are considered more closely related than even children of the same mother, the closest natural bond. A man stands in the same relation to the relatives of his oath brother as does the brother himself. He calls them by the same relationship terms and is subject to the same marriage restrictions. Other members of the two families feel that a relationship has been established between them and that they owe each other assistance, but their marriages are not restricted. The children of blood brothers are governed by the same marriage regulations as those of real brothers and sisters and this is supposed to extend to their descendants indefinitely. Actually, it seems to be ignored after about the third generation.

608 Blood oaths of the parent-child type, found among the Betaileo, are lacking among the Tanala. Both parties are of equal importance in the ceremony and have equal rights and duties thereafter. These are specified in the oath, which is varied to meet the wishes of the participants. The duty of mutual assistance is always included and the oath brothers often agree to hold their property in common. Even when this has not been included in the bond one brother can use the other's property without permission, if the owner is away. In a few cases brothers agree to hold even their wives in common, but this is very rare when both live in the same village. The bond is regarded with the utmost seriousness and it is thought that any infraction will be punished supernaturally. An interesting modern development is that brothers now may promise to help each other with the reservation that the help shall not bring them into conflict with the government. Under this a man can legitimately refuse to help his brother if he is a fugitive from justice.

609 791 The ceremony of taking the oath is attended by members of both families and a few non-related men, who act as witnesses. It is supervised by an *ombiasy*. He takes a wooden winnowing tray filled with water and mixes in it wood ashes, rice husks, seven clumps of grass, including the roots, ox dung found in the forest (called "dung of an ox that does not know its mother") and some of the small pellets of earth which are left attached to roots hanging in the air after a bark has fallen. A spear is then held vertically in the bowl, with its point down. Each of the oath takers grasps the spear shaft with his right hand while the *ombiasy* grasps it with his left hand, above the other two. In his right hand the *ombiasy* holds a knife with which he taps the spear shaft lightly and continuously and repeats the following invocation:

"Listen, listen, oh gods! *Zanahary* the male, *Zanahary* the female, Rangidina, Rantomoa, Mosofamaky jahana, Beeronerona, Rangamina, Andrangofalafa, Madiovazankoho, Tsimangano no hananga, the gold and the sun! Listen, you others who are in the sky! Man is made from blood which you have made solid and to which you have given life. You have advised us, 'If you have business of any sort, do not forget to tell us.' Since so-and-so and so-and-so [giving names] are about to make an oath of friendship here, you have been called, oh gods, to assist in that oath.

"These are the terms on which they enter the bond: The father, the mother, the property, the money, the cattle, the houses and the wives are henceforth to be held in common. They will redeem each other if one is sold for debt and help each other in death [i.e., provide money, cattle, rice, etc., for the funeral]. If one of the oath brothers or his family is hungry and he demands help of the other in the name of the oath, and he refuses it, punish him, Gods and sacred oath [the phrase is *Zanahary sy fihananana*]. If one is on the side of the river where the canoe is tied and his oath brother calls him from the other side, wishing to pass over, and he refuses to take him over, observe it and punish him, Gods and sacred oath. If enemies lie in wait to kill one and the other can frustrate them and does not, punish him, Gods and sacred oath. If one fails in his duty because he does not recognize the other, or because it is impossible for him to do what the other asks, do not punish him, Gods and sacred oath. Under all circumstances, if one brother betrays the other may the crocodiles and water spirits [*lolo*] seize him when he crosses water and the lightning strike him when he is on land."

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The *ombiasy* then recites the following imprecations on the oath breaker, calling out the number before each curse: "*Iraika* [one]! May his belly swell if he does treason. *Roa* [two]! May all evils happen to the traitor at once. *Telo* [three]! May the lightning break him in three pieces. *Efatra* [four]! May the crocodile devour him. *Dimy* [five]! May sickness slay both him and his family. *Enena* [six]! May his life be suspended between heaven and earth. *Fito* [seven]! May his liver and gall be torn out. *Valo* [eight]! May no remedy save him from death. *Sivy* [nine]! May he be subject to many maladies and may his stomach swell. *Folo* [ten]! May leprosy eat away his fingers and toes."

The *ombiasy* then begins to count again and calls down blessings on the brothers if they keep the oath: "One! May their wealth, goods and children increase. Two! May cattle and honor come to them. Three! May they live in *Zanahary*, the life giver, so that they will never be sick or troubled. Four! May only old age and death separate them from honor, the respect of others and wealth. Five! May money and children come to them. Six! May they have the honor and consideration of others, Oh God, and never be sick or even indisposed. Seven! May this oath bring them good fortune and be useful to them. Eight! May their money never leave them and may cattle enter their pens. Nine! May they and their families live together and never separate."

After this the *ombiasy* invokes the ancestral spirits of the oath brothers, calling them to witness the bond and repeating the entire formula without change. He then makes a small cut over the heart

608 791 of each with a sharp knife. Each man takes a piece of raw ginger root and smears it with his own blood. They face each other and each covers the other's eyes with his left hand while he places the ginger root in the other's mouth with his right. They do this simultaneously, repeating together: "May you also become blind if you are a traitor to me." The *ombiasy* then takes a leaf of the *longoja* plant and pulls it into two pieces lengthwise, saying: "If either of you is a traitor, may his body be torn in two like this leaf, so that one part will be on the east coast of this island and the other on the west." Half the leaf is laid on the eastern and half on the western side of the house. Then the oath brothers pay the *ombiasy* and witnesses, and name and point out to each other the members of their families.

The above account was obtained from Ratzakoba, an *ombiasy* of the Zafindiamanana gens of the Tanala Menabe, and is a description of a particular ceremony which he had himself directed. Accounts obtained from other *ombiasy* indicate that each one has his own formula, although all of these conform to a definite pattern. The use of the rice winnower, grasping of the spear, tapping with the knife, invocation first of the gods and then of the ancestors, and the eating of ginger root smeared with each other's blood, are constant. The materials mixed in the rice winnower, the terms of the contract and the blessings and imprecations are variable. One set of imprecations is as follows: 1. May illness come and slay the traitor. 2. May his liver become diseased and be covered with spots. 3 and 4. Same as in imprecations previously given. 5. May the sickness turn and turn in him, i.e., may it be constantly active and attack all organs. 6. May the malady enter him six times a day. 7. May his gall bladder burst. 8. May the illness, when it comes, kill him before he can drink water, i.e., instantly. 9. May sickness spread through his whole body. 10. May all his limbs be broken.

728 796 When a village was captured and reduced to vassalage the heads of the lineages and more important families were required to take an oath of loyalty to the victors. This was identical in content and procedure with the oath of blood brotherhood except that the victors remained unbound. The natives knew of no instance in which the chiefs of two gentes had entered into blood brotherhood to cement an alliance between their followers.

OLD AGE

165 Although no vital statistics are available for the Tanala, the life expectation for adults seems to be little if at all inferior to that

for Europeans. The death rate is very high during infancy and early 165 childhood and those who survive this perilous period are, necessarily, of strong physique. Old people are to be seen in all villages. It seemed to me that women were slightly more numerous than men, but I have no proof of this. The actual ages of individuals are hard to determine, for none of the Menabe know the dates of their births, but from incidents which they remember it is safe to say that persons of sixty to seventy years are fairly numerous, while a few reach eighty years and over.

Most of the old people seem to be mentally and physically alert. 732 Senile dementia is almost unknown. Deafness is very rare, but blindness is not infrequent. I saw two cases of cataract and several other cases of blindness due to infections. The strength and activity 145 of old people are often amazing. This holds true for other Malagasy tribes as well as the Tanala. A missionary living among the Betsileo told me that the mother of their maid servant, who was herself middle-aged, had decided some months before that she was too old to live without someone to wait on her. She had come to get the maid, walking over eighty miles. Two of my Menabe informants, who were both over seventy, seemed as active as young men and still did their full share of work in the rice fields. One of them was living in a neighboring village and regularly walked ten miles daily over hilly country, five miles each way, without suffering fatigue.

Old people continue the regular activities of adults until they 887 become feeble or otherwise incapacitated. After this they assume the lighter duties of child tending. It seemed to me that the relations between children and old people were closer and more friendly than those between parent and child. The old people tell the children stories, show them how to make toys, supervise their games, etc. The children in turn wait on the old people willingly. There seem to be many friendships between old men and children who are not closely related to them. The children are taught to treat all old people with respect and habitually address them, even if they are strangers, as grandfather or grandmother.

Young adults are also respectful, as a rule, for disrespect would 888 be considered a sign of ill breeding, but they have no superstitious reverence for age and I have heard young men make fun of old ones, although never to their faces. The middle-aged treat the old, except those of their immediate family, very much as equals. In village councils, etc., age in itself does not confer authority. A

888 middle-aged man of wealth and ability will receive more consideration than an old man who is not important.

Old men with numerous descendants occupy an enviable position. They exercise parental authority over both their children and grandchildren and are respected by non-relatives because of the power they wield. Their own children treat them with great consideration, for if they fail in their duties the father will revenge himself by giving away his property to other children or even outsiders. Old men fully realize the strength of their position and are often overbearing. [578] I saw several instances of tension between fathers and grown sons and heard of a few cases in which sons had actually left home to escape their fathers' domination. This was said to be a recent development, due to the peace imposed by the French. It would have been impossible under primitive conditions and was still frowned on by the community. There is a distinct feeling that the care and expense involved in rearing a child are an investment which should be repaid by care of the parent in his old age.

562 888 Old women have less authority over their children than old men, but, if widowed, they will live with one of their married sons and take an active part in the direction of his household. The relation between mothers and grown sons seems much more friendly than that between fathers and sons, but there is sometimes friction between mothers and daughters-in-law. The authority of the mother over the daughter-in-law is not clearly defined, so the possibilities of conflict are increased. In a few cases mothers lived alone in small houses built near those of their married sons. I was told that they did this of their own free will.

888 Childless old people of both sexes have a lower status than those with children. They will be looked after by their closest kin, but if these are poor, or stingy, they may be neglected. However, they are never allowed to suffer real hardship. This is due less to affection than to the fear that their ghosts may revenge themselves on those who have neglected them.

567 In former times, old slaves were assured of support by their masters. Informants had never heard of selling a slave because he had become old or useless. They said that, in the first place, no one would buy him and, in the second, such a sale would be a disgrace to his master. The fear of vengeance from his ghost also helped to secure good treatment for him. As most slaves had families, the problem rarely arose.

SUICIDE

Suicide is extremely rare among the Tanala and none of my 762 informants could recall any instances. They said that it would normally be due to insanity and would, therefore, debar the individual from burial in the gens tomb. In some of the other Madagascar tribes suicide was resorted to in extreme cases as a means of revenge upon a powerful enemy, the suicide devoting his soul to injuring his antagonist. My Tanala informants said that such a thing would be possible, but knew of no cases. They said that the Tanala were a gentle and kindly people and that any difficulty would be adjusted before it came to such a point. Suicide because of disappointments in love struck them as ludicrous and they were much amused to learn that it occurred in European countries.

ATTITUDE TOWARD DEATH

The Tanala do not fear death from ordinary causes. Their 761 belief in the existence of a soul, and in its persistence, is absolute. They are schooled in this from infancy and nearly all of them feel that it has been verified by personal experiences. Practically all my pagan informants claimed to have met one or more of their ancestral spirits either in dreams or when in lonely places.

They believe that the soul's transition from life to death is an easy one, involving no great change. The future life is a simple projection of their present condition and the changes, if any, will be for the better. They have no fear of future punishments, for the only one included in their theology is that of disownment by the ancestors, which is only enforced in extreme cases. Ordinarily, the whole group of ancestors will be waiting to welcome them and show them their place in the spirit village. Death does not even interpose any great barrier between the individual and his living friends and relatives. He can return at will to supervise their affairs and has much more power for good or evil than when alive. With this in mind, they face death calmly and old people, especially those who are poor or neglected, often seem to look forward to the change, feeling that it will improve their condition.

When a man thinks that death is approaching, his main concern 763 is not for the welfare of his soul but for the proper division of his 431 property and the impressive celebration of his funeral. If he has time, he will assemble his relatives and friends and give away most of his possessions. This is important, for it is impossible to make a will under native law, estates being divided by fixed rules. Usually

763 [431] these gifts will be delayed as long as possible, for they are unconditional and if the man should recover he could not reclaim them. He will give directions as to his funeral, discuss the erection of his memorial stone, declare that a certain piece of land will belong to his spirit and must not be cultivated without a sacrifice to it, indicate what sacrifices he prefers, and in general set his affairs in order for this world and the next. His audience listens with great respect and these last wishes will be fulfilled whenever possible, for failure to do so would earn the enmity of his ghost.

760 The feeling toward violent death is quite different. This is viewed with terror. It prevents a man from putting his affairs in order and the loss or mutilation of the body entails bad results for the spirit. The owner of a lost body is unable to join the ancestors until it has been recovered and placed in the tomb, or the equivalent ceremonies have been performed. Mutilations are carried over into the spirit world and the condition of the body becomes that of the soul for eternity. Children grow up in the spirit world and the sick are healed, but the old are not rejuvenated nor are lost members restored. Because of this belief, the natives will show cowardice in the face of sudden danger which is in marked contrast to their composure at ordinary death.

XIII. PROVERBS

The Tanala, like all the Malagasy, have a great number of proverbs. No speech in council is complete without them and they are constantly quoted in bargaining and in disputes. When men are angry, they will go on for half an hour or more, quoting them and each capping the other's proverb with one favorable to his side of the argument. Cleverness in this seems to be greatly admired and by the time one or the other runs out, good humor has usually been restored. The following series gives only a small part of those in common use, but will serve to show their type.

1. *Fototr'antavy n'olombelo, n'iva iva, n'abo abo.* "Men are like the sacrifice posts in the rice fields, some are long and others short." Applied tolerantly to individual differences in opinion and behavior.

2. *Ladim-boatavo ny viavy izao tany izao amatsahany aby.* "Women are like the gourd vine, they bear children everywhere."

3. *Sikidin Ratrangitrangy dia my omaly koa.* "Whenever Ratrangitrangy casts his *sikidy* to find the condition of a patient it says 'His health is the same as yesterday.'" Applied to an equivocal answer.

4. *Sikidy tsara tsy andihiza, sikidy ratsy tsy amonoam-po.* "A favorable *sikidy* does not make him dance or an unfavorable one make him despair." Applied to one with a set purpose.

5. *Tsy misy zanak'ombiasy tsy ho voan'ny sa (vintana) ary: Tsy misy zanaka amapnefy tsy ho main'ny tsirim-by.* "One must not think that he will not die because he is the child of an *ombiasy* [medicine-man], or that he will not be burned because he is the child of a smith."

6. *Tamango'olo tsy mba mamoha; fa ny tamangontena no mamoha.* "The *tamango* [a fetish] does not waken everyone. It wakens only its owner."

7. *Avy tsy nangeha nasesiky ny raza.* "He arrives without invitation, as though sent by the ancestors."

8. *Atody mongongoy; ala mahafaty reny, apetraka mahafaty ray.* "It is like the eggs of the *mongongoy* [a large ground bird of very [787] bad omen]. To take them is to kill one's mother, to leave them is to kill one's father."

9. *Ramaka nandalo tana may.* "When Ramaka passes the whole village burns."

538 10. *Tandraka azon-drahalahy tsy hanin'aty.* "One does not eat the liver of a *tandraka* [hedgehog] which his brother has caught."

11. *Vadin-drahalahy tsy manara-mitavy.* "Your brother's wife does not follow you to the *tavy* [rice field]."

12. *Sindrany manana ny andro hoatry ny manan'ny hasoa.* "It is better to have a good destiny than to be handsome."

13. *Ny fanahy sambori-dava; tsy mamelik'olo tsy ny tompony.* "The spirits are like your loin-cloth; good or bad it still encircles you."

[825] 14. *Vorom-potsy tsy milavitr'aomby.* "White herons do not go far from the cattle." White herons are always to be seen about a cattle herd, catching the insects they frighten up from the grass.

15. *Ny fanahy ratsy hidin'ny hoavy, ary ny fanahy soa vava lozoky ny hamany.* "The wicked shut their doors to those who would enter, but an honest man's door is open to all the world," i.e., he has nothing to conceal.

16. *Veloma tsy mandara hoandry, ary sakafo tsy mandara vatsy.* "Saying 'Farewell' does not prevent one from sleeping in the village, nor does carrying food prevent one from taking a meal with a relative."

17. *Sindrany miarakandro aomby vato hoatra ny miambin'olo folo.* "Better to guard a hundred cattle than to watch ten men."

[278] 18. *Sakarivo natao ody vaza sady fanafody hanitragnitra.* "Like ginger used as a medicine for the teeth. It both does good and tastes good."

19. *Ny ahiahy tsy ihavana.* "With suspicion there is no friendship."

20. *Tatanam-by rabdrian-vy vy koa manatsara vy.* "The hammer and anvil; two friends who help each other."

21. *Havanan'dambo tsy ritra amboa raiky.* "One dog cannot put many wild boar to flight."

22. *Hazo tokana tsy mba ala.* "One tree does not make a forest."

23. *Tondro tokana tsy mahafoy hao.* "One finger cannot catch a louse."

24. *Kiboty miray miarakandro: ny maty iraisahoma, ny velo iraisa miarakandro.* "Be like orphans guarding cattle. If one dies they eat it in common and they all watch the survivors."

25. *Mpivady tsy mifamara ady no farany.* "Husband and wife are never through scolding each other."

26. *Onamamy no iraisana, beroberoka no hisarahana.* "The sweet herbs are gathered into one place and the weeds thrown away."

27. *Ny atody tsy miady amim-bato.* "An egg cannot fight against a stone."

28. *Mpilano alohan'aomby, ka lanin ny voay.* "Swimming before the cattle, he will be snapped up by the crocodile."

29. *Varatra tsy indroy mamaky.* "Lightning does not strike twice in the same place."

30. *Somondrara tsy indroy misandratra.* "Nests are not renewed twice."

31. *Fenhin'amboan i Igara, sindrany maty fehy hoatry ny befy.* "The Igara tie a dog. They would rather let him die than have him escape."

32. *K'aza mizara mizaha fehirongo.* "In distributing [beef] one must not regard the hairdressing of the assistants."

33. *Si-pary lava ny fanahy; mamy laha tandohany paka ambodiny.* "An honest man is like a long sugar cane, sweet from head to foot."

34. *Haromay volo, mahay ny vary, mahy ny ro.* "Like a big bamboo spoon. It serves for rice and meat at the same time."

35. *Varangara tsiky, mora mivadika.* "A door of matting, easily turned back."

XIV. A LEGEND

(From manuscript of Sadaro Antoine)

538 [The Tanala have a rather rich folklore and delight in telling and hearing stories. Many of these are historical, others are romantic or humorous. The long contact which the Malagasy have had with Europeans, Arabs and Africans is reflected in this lore, which contains motifs from the most diverse sources. Most of the non-historical stories I heard among the Tanala are known to most other tribes and as several good collections of Malagasy folklore have already been published it is unnecessary to give them here. The appended story is given as a fair sample.]

221 538 After the harvest of the hill rice, at the end of the month *Valasira* [April], the Tanala return to their villages which have been abandoned for six months while the people lived at the *tavy* [clearings]. From May to July, when the cultivation of beans begins, the Tanala stay in their villages and do no work. On good evenings the people have their meal in common in the public square of the village. After the meal, the children gather around the old people and these tell them stories and proverbs. This is one of the stories they tell:

539 Ramangavato had two wives, Pelakatratroka, who was head wife, and Pelakasoa. Pelakatratroka had a son, Rangorobemana. Pelakasoa had two sons, Andriamanikandro and Andriamanibola. When Rangorobemana grew up, he married two wives, Rasoatombozato and Toibolaharea. His brothers stole his wives and carried them away overseas. Rangorobemana was desperate and went sadly to the forest to make a *tavy* [burned clearing for rice]. He lit a great fire and the smoke rose even to *Zanahary*. The first year *Zanahary* said nothing. The second year he was angry and sent the *fody*, the small parrot, the crow and many other birds to put out the fire, but, because they were accustomed to live on the earth, they did not return. Finally *Zanahary* sent one called Rahino, with a heavy rain. "In putting out my fire you are making me die," said Rangorobemana to Rahino. "You would do well to kill me." "I have not the right to kill you," answered Rahino, and he returned to the sky to lay Rangorobemana's complaint before *Zanahary*.

"If he does not make another *tavy*," said *Zanahary*, "and if he takes another wife, he will have a son. Still, at the moment of the birth I advise him to plant a pointed bamboo stake in front of the mother. If he does not, the child will come out by her head."

Rangorobemana married again and after a year a child was born. They wanted to receive the child on a mat, but he went out through the door and stood upright to the east of the houses. There he asked for the spear and shield of his father. He shook the spear once, and the spear broke. He threw the shield into the air and when he caught it again, it broke. Wishing to show his courage, he climbed the sacrifice post, and the post bent and fell to earth. Finally, he struck the post of the granary with his head, and the granary fell.

The boy's father named him Milolaza. When he grew up he made a spear which he called *teteza beranohitay merik andro* [meaning that he could use its shaft for a bridge in time of flood or as firewood when it rained; a reference to its vast size]. He also made an axe which he called *tifia alarobia tsinin alahady* [lit., "forged Wednesday and repaired Sunday"].

Later, Rangorobemana had two daughters. He named one Tehandova (lit., "to wish to inherit") and the other Teholova [lit., "to wish to be inherited"].

Once Rangorobemana told his son Milolaza to go to the forest and gather firewood. Instead he broke the handle of his spear in two and used that for fuel. Half of it was enough to keep a newly delivered mother warm for a week. [A reference to the Tanala practice of "roasting" women immediately after childbirth.]

One day he asked his father to give him a slave so that he could offer it as a prize to anyone who was willing to fight with him. "There is no need for that," said Rangorobemana. "If you are so brave, go fight with the wild animals in the forest." He went and took his two sisters with him. He told them to prepare food while he went to make a *tavy* in the forest. A few moments later Tangidibemola, a great monster of the region, appeared before the two girls and growled: "Who dares to enter my territory? I am the only master of the forest. If I have big eyes, it is because of my vigilance. If I have big feet, it is because of the constant journeys I make over my territory. If I want to rest, I sit on the point of a spear. If a bit of dust falls in my eye, I take it out with a needle. When I am angry, the forest burns and all the lakes dry up." The two girls were frightened and fled. The next day the three returned to the same place. Milolaza said to his sisters: "If you are afraid, go make the *tavy* and I will cook the food." Tangidibemola appeared before him raging and made the same boasts. Milolaza struck him with his magic axe and the monster died. The three returned to the village and announced to their father the death of the monster.

539 Milolaza then sought out Retsefa [not previously mentioned] and said: "If you dare to fight with me, I will give you that slave." "Good," said Retsefa. "Good," said Milolaza, "but I warn you in advance that I will pursue you to the end. Our fight will not end until one land snail has eaten a liana as big around as a man. It will not end until the horn of a gnat grows to be as big as a barrel. I will not leave you until the head of the *ana* [a small plant used as greens] is big enough to make a rat guard for a granary." "Keep your slave," said Retsefa, "I won't fight with you."

When Milolaza returned home, his father said: "If you are so brave, go find Songotriparilava. His belt is twisted from nettles and his clothing is made from thorny vines." Milolaza sought out Songotriparilava and challenged him to fight for a wager. He accepted. Said Milolaza: "Before we begin, I warn you that our fight will not end until one of us becomes so small that he must climb on a rice mortar to milk a *sora* [a small insectivor, slightly larger than a rat]. It will not end until the fat from one lark is enough to fill eight calabashes. It will not end until the milk of an ant will fill a milk gourd. Until that time, I will pursue you." "Keep your slave," said Songotriparilava, "I will not wrestle with you."

Milolaza returned home and asked his father who was the most redoubtable man or monster of the region. "Go find Andriambo of Ambodiria," his father said. He challenged Andriambo, who accepted. "Before we fight," said Milolaza, "I warn you that our battle will not end until one can do up honey in the leaf of the *anjavidy* [not identified]. It will not end until fish go on land and bees make combs in the water." Andriambo also refused combat.

Milolaza returned to his father. "All the champions are now defeated," he said. "I will now go and fight Andriamanikandro and Andriamanibola, who stole your wives. Where do they live?" "On the other side of the sea," his father answered.

Milolaza made a huge shield. He brought it back to the village and tried whether he could maneuver it. He threw it into the air and it went so high that hawks perched on its top and the wild bees built their nests below. Then he went to get his father's wives from those who had stolen them.

He crossed the sea and finally arrived at the village of the two brothers. He stealthily approached the spring where the village got its water and found an old woman there. He killed and flayed her. Then he put on her skin and sat down above the spring. The women of the village, coming to the spring, saw a stranger there and were afraid and turned back. Finally Komondio, the grandmother of the brothers, went to the spring herself. She brought the supposed old woman to the village. "Where did you get that old hag?" Andriamanikandro demanded. "It is a poor woman I found by the spring." "Take her to your own house then, she has a bad smell," said Andriamanibola; so Komondio took the false old woman to her house.

"Tomorrow we will tramp the rice fields," Andriamanikandro said to his grandmother [i.e., drive cattle back and forth over them to reduce the soil to soft mud]. "Stay in the village and give food to that hag." "I will go with you," said Milolaza. "No," said Komondio, "stay in the house or you may be hurt by the cattle." "I will not go down into the rice field," said Milolaza, "I will stay on the dike." When they came to the rice fields Milolaza got into a dispute with Andriamanikandro over an eel which they had found in the mud. Both seized it and pulled and it broke in two in the middle. "That is no old woman," said Andriamanikandro, "I will kill her." However, his grandmother would not permit it.

"Tomorrow we are going to the chase," said Andriamanibola to Komondio, "stay in the village with your friend." "I will go there, too," said Milolaza. "Don't go," said Komondio. "The wild pigs of Ankazomiadiloha are so numerous that you have to swim to cross their urine and to wade to the breast in their excrement." Nevertheless, Milolaza went with the two brothers. Andriamanikandro placed himself in the pig run. Andriamanibola made a circuit, to drive the pigs and make them pass in front of Milolaza. Milolaza struck the pigs with his right hand and the dogs with his left, killing them all. The brothers were furious at the death of their dogs and wanted to kill him, but Komondio opposed them.

"Tomorrow we will go to the *kibory* [tomb of the gens] to pray to our ancestors," said Andriamanikandro to his grandmother. "Send your wives to my house," said Komondio, "and we will pound rice." When the women had come to Komondio's house, Milolaza took off his disguise and said to Rasoatombozato and Toibolaharea: "I am the son of Rangorobemana and I have come seeking for you. Follow me." The two women went with him.

When the brothers returned, the grandmother told them: "Your wives were carried off by force by the false old woman." "I will pursue them," said Andriamanikandro. After a little he caught up with them and threw his spear at Milolaza. Milolaza parried the cast, turning to all sides. The spear followed him and finally fixed itself in a rock in the middle of the sea. Milolaza, in turn, 539 threw his spear at Andriamanikandro. He fled, but the spear followed him unceasingly. At last it passed through the trunk of a banana tree, through the belly of an ox, and fixed itself in the sacrifice post to the east of his house. "We are equal," said Andriamanikandro. "I have never seen an enemy equal to you. We will make blood brotherhood, then you may take the women back to your father." Thus by heroism and cunning Milolaza delivered his father's wives from the hands of his rivals.

XV. WARS OF THE TANALA IKONGO

(From manuscript of Sadaro Antoine)

TANALA-HOVA WAR

About 1815, during the reign of Radama I, expeditions were sent out nearly every winter to attack the southern tribes, Antaimorona, Antaifasina, Antaivato, etc. Many people were killed and numbers of men, women and children taken captive to the plateau. The tribes passed under the rule of Radama, and Hova posts were established at Vohipeno, Mahamanina, Farafangana, Ankarana, Vangaindrano, etc. Only the Tanala remained free, for they had an impenetrable refuge in their mountains and heavy forests.

About 1830 Ranavalona I sent officers and soldiers to inspect the southern posts. Peace reigned everywhere. Satisfied with the situation, the expedition returned to Tananarive, passing by way of Ikongo. When it arrived at Mahaly near Sahakondro, the commander ordered the Tanala to clear the road. Instead of obeying his order the Tanala kings, Andriamanisotra, Ivy (Marohala), Bevazaha, Ralazany (Sandrabe), Mahery, Andriamamelika (Marohala-Ambany), sent their men to stop the mission. There was a battle at Hanka, near Sahakondro. The Hova soldiers strongly resisted their attack and continued their journey to Tananarive. When they arrived at Tananarive, Ratsimiseta, the commander, reported everything that had occurred to the queen. She sent a strong expedition against the Tanala, who were defeated and submitted for the time being. The expedition brought back much loot to Tananarive. Later Ranavalona invited all the Tanala kings to come to Tananarive under pretext of making blood brotherhood with them. Andriamanisotra, Ralazany, Ivy, and Andriamamelika went, but on arrival were murdered without pity by the queen. Some years later Ranavalona I sent officers and soldiers to the region of Ikongo to force all the chiefs of clans to send to Imerina as captives the handsomest of their children *zaza tsonga isan-dohahazo.* The Tanala had to comply with this cruel order and the children were carried off as slaves to Tananarive. The children were concentrated at certain places and these unfortunate places afterward bore the name "Vohidranomaso" because of the hot tears shed by the poor mothers at being separated from their children. Later Ranavalona sent again to get the older descendants [*l'aine des neveux*]. This was *zoky anak'anakavy.* Finally they took all the children who

175 were 9 or 10 years old and a meter tall. This was the *zaza dimy zehy*. Because of these slave raids the region became deserted. The people who had not been caught fled to the forest. Many allied themselves with the Hovas of Mahamanina and Ambalavao. Unable to stay long in the forest, the fugitives returned to their villages. They named Rahavoky, son of Andriamanisotra, assassinated by Ranavalona, as king. He, being afraid of the queen, fled south. Tsimanontany, younger brother of Andriamanisotra, talked one day with his nephew, Tsiandrofa, about the bad situation of the kingdom. Tsimanontany said, "If you can save our country and get its inhabitants out of the power of the Hova kingdom, I will give you the realm." "I would like to accept your offer," Tsiandrofa said, "but you have children who can succeed you. I fear that if I deliver the country and bring tranquillity again, you will give the realm to your children." "I promise to give it to you in the name of *Zanahary* and my ancestors," Tsimanontany said. Tsiandrofa accepted. His uncle sprinkled him with water and invoked the *razana* that he might save the country in its danger and be a great king of the Tanala after the battle.

159 Biography of Tsiandrofa: He was born about 1815, son of Politra and Thevitra. From infancy he was noted for his fine physique. His calves were large, his arms muscular and his fingers very large. His large black eyes were protected by brows and lashes as long as they were thick. His head was covered with beautiful slightly curly hair. His teeth were solid and regular. At the age of fifteen he was a great galliard, tall and remarkably strong. In the boys' fights he was general and never met his match. His favorite sport was chasing wild pigs and in this he never used a spear. He ran after the animal, caught it by the hind leg and beat it against the ground. It is also told of him that later, in the course of his expeditions, his soldiers had trouble in passing flooded rivers. He would stand chest deep in the water, take the soldiers one by one, and throw them to the other bank. He was also very intelligent. Sometimes his subjects put many questions to him. He had not time to listen to them individually, so talked to them in a group and gave each one his answer. Finally, he was benevolent and generous. These were the qualities of the young chief who dared to oppose the strong army of Ranavalona I.

175 He was twenty at the time his uncle Tsimanontany asked his advice. When he was about twenty-one he mounted to the summit of Mount Ikongo with his *fanalolahy* [officers], Tsisahy, Tsiony, Tsivo-

nona, Ivita, Andriamarohavy, Mandromana, Tsifarahy and Tsimahafoy, who were *vahoaka* [common caste], and Indrianavoany, Tsiminora, Andrianiarana and Menahy, who were Zafirambo. From this stronghold Tsiandrofa attacked and looted the Hova convoys destined for the southern posts. When she heard of the insurrection Ranavalona sent an expedition commanded by Rainozimba 12 honors. When it arrived at the foot of Ikongo they sought in vain for a way up and returned without result to Tananarive. Rainitsara 12 honors was chosen to command the second expedition. He was especially hopeful of victory for he thought his predecessor was not an able man. He counted greatly on his fetishes, but when he got to the foot of Ikongo he was discouraged and returned to Tananarive. The third expedition was commanded by Prince Ramboasalama. Everyone thought he would conquer but he had no better luck. The three officers who succeeded him tried in vain to climb to the village. There were a few skirmishes, but the soldiers, tired out, retired without result. A famous warrior, Rainimarolahy, 13 honors, was then sent. His soldiers fought bravely, but the Ikongo were well protected and resisted strongly. He was forced to retire. When she heard of this check the queen was furious. "I have a rival in the south," she said, "I will never stop trying to conquer him while I have a soldier left." She sent Rainitompo 13 honors and Andrianjafy 13 honors, with a strong army, to reinforce Rainimarolahy. Hoping to find a path, they climbed the mountain. The Tanala let them get fairly high, then threw down on them tree trunks and big stones, which they had prepared in advance. The Hova soldiers were almost annihilated. Afraid to try to scale the mountain again, they vainly tried to find a passage farther to the south. For six months the Hova camped around the mountain. Finally, unable to get at the Tanala, the two expeditions commanded by Rainimarolahy and Rainitompo returned to Tananarive. Before his departure Rainimarolahy burned his camp so that the soldiers of Rainitompo could not descend (for the two generals were jealous of each other). Taking advantage of this Tsiandrofa pursued the soldiers and these, without commander and in disorder, fled for their lives. Many were killed, for they could not get past the fire. It was here that Ratsida, 11 honors, was captured, being unable to get away. The Tanala carried him to their village on their shoulders and jeered at the Hova officers, saying, "We have captured your famous warrior. He asks you to come to his aid. Why do you abandon him?" No one came to his aid, everyone fleeing for his life. When they arrived at the camp Rainimarolahy made a *kabary* to rescue Ratsida from the hands of the enemy. The soldiers were unwilling to return and Ratsida was left in the hands of the enemy. When they came to Tananarive, Rainimarolahy told the queen that Ratsida had been captured. He was degraded and two soldiers who had lost their guns were burned alive.

Several expeditions commanded by the officers Rainimanonja 14 honors, Rahaga 13 honors, Ratiaraikely 13 honors, Andrianaivodofotra 13 honors, Ratsiaravandava 13 honors, and Ralaitrimo 12 honors were sent to take Ikongo. The troops camped at Tsiazonariva, to the west of Ikongo. Two days after they had installed themselves the soldiers of Tsiandrofa fired on their camp heavily. One of Rainimarolahy's aides was killed. The next day the battle commenced, the Hova soldiers assaulting Ikongo. They followed a small, almost inaccessible path through the forest. Tsiandrofa had suspended big pieces of wood from the trees by lianas. The enemy were allowed to mount and when they were crowded together in a bad place, the vines were cut and many crushed to death. The officers did not lose their courage. Rainitsimihaha 13 honors, Ratsiaravandava 13 honors and Rainikilahy 13 honors took command. The combat recommenced. In the afternoon the Hova arrived at Tsiazopapango which they took, the Tanala fleeing. The following night Tsiandrofa, taking advantage of the moonlight, opened a heavy fire on the Hova camp, causing considerable loss. The officers Rainitsimihaha and Ratsiaravandava fled to the forest to the east of Tsiazopapango and hid in a cave. The soldiers also scattered. Only Rainikilahy remained and took command. The other two officers did not return to the camp until the next day. Nothing was said because they were officers but two Hova and a Betsileo who were absent at roll call were burned alive. Rainimanonja and the other officers sent a letter to the queen telling her that they had arrived at Tsiazopapango and that only a short distance separated the two hostile camps. The Hova troops waited there and tried to find a way up Ikongo, but in vain. Finally they descended to Tsiazonariva. At that moment Rakotondrabemila, aide-de-camp to Radama I, arrived accompanied by an officer to try to make peace. The Tanala received him well and brought him to the summit of Ikongo by a difficult route, in front of Tsiandrofa. The two envoys said that the queen was unwilling to continue the war and asked peace. "We accept," Tsiandrofa said, "on condition that you descend to Vinanitelo. There, below, we will make proposals of peace. We will follow behind you." The Hova officers, 175 ignorant of Tsiandrofa's plans, were unwilling to comply. Neither side wanted to go to Vinanitelo and the parley came to nothing. Descending to the Hova camp Rakotondrabemila said that the way was very difficult, impossible for an army. There were large plantations of manioc, sweet potatoes, taro, etc., on top and a never failing spring, so that it was impossible to take the mountain by siege. The officers, being ashamed to return to Tananarive, transferred their camp to Tsiazonariva. The soldiers were afraid to go foraging in bands of less than 20 to 100. Tsiandrofa often invited them to battle, but they refused. The Hova soldiers could not resist long because of internal dissensions and sickness, which killed many, including the officer Rahaingo. Being ashamed of their lack of success and wishing to show their courage, the Hova officers bought a hundred guns, drums, trumpets, and axes from the Bara and after nine months of insignificant attacks returned to Tananarive with this false loot. Thanks to Tsiandrofa the Tanala had been delivered from the rule of Ranavalona.

TANALA-FRENCH WAR

After the Tanala-Hova war Tsiandrofa became high king of Ikongo and reigned nearly fifty years. He administered his realm peacefully and encouraged agriculture, trade and industry. He reformed the *didy* [laws] of the Tanala and enforced them benevolently upon his subjects. Sometimes, after the harvest of the *tavy* rice he sent out expeditions against the allies of the Hova and the Antavaratra (Ifanadiana), the Antaimorona and the Betsileo. He brought back slaves, cattle, weapons and pots. Later, about 1890, a European named Dejardin (?) entered the region of Ikongo and made an alliance with Tsiandrofa. The king expressed his satisfaction. The foreigner asked him to get wax for him, in exchange for which he promised to send guns and powder. The king ordered the natives to gather wax and Dejardin got a great quantity of it and returned home, but sent nothing in return. Another merchant *Vazahalava* [lit. "tall stranger"], probably an Englishman named Parvins, imported a quantity of guns and powder which he exchanged for slaves and cattle.

Finally M. Besson, Resident of Fianarantsoa, arrived at the Ikongo in the course of his tour, to visit King Tsiandrofa. He had made blood brotherhood with Andriamanapaka, son of Tsiandrofa. He promised the king that he would always defend him against the

175 attacks of his enemies. Tsiandrofa told this alliance to his nephew Andriampanoha, hereditary prince of the Tanala, but the latter was hostile to alliances with the whites and when M. Besson ordered the clearing of the roads in the region, Andriampanoha assembled the *Notables* and made them the following *kabary*: "The white allies of Andriamanapaka have ordered the opening of the trails in our region and are forcing us to that labor. Undoubtedly they want to bring here their relatives and friends, for our region is fertile. I do not wish that and I order you to build houses on Ikongo and repair our forts." The *Notables* obeyed his orders and within a few months two-thirds of the population were installed on the summit of Mount Ikongo. They brought with them everything necessary, food, arms and munitions and left their cattle under guard at the foot of the mountain. Seeing this state of things the Resident asked Tsiandrofa the reason for this movement. The king answered that he did not know, for the order did not come from him but from Andriampanoha. M. Besson told the king to make his nephew come down. The prince refused and wished, on the contrary, to drive the *vazaha* [foreigner] out of the territory. M. Besson insisted several times that the prince descend, but he paid no attention to it and went on fortifying the mountain. Finally the Resident told Tsiandrofa that he would make Andriampanoha come down by force. He then went back to Fianarantsoa and returned a few weeks later with a troop. The French government addressed an ultimatum to the prince, but the revolt continued and war was begun. A detachment commanded by Lieutenant Bertrand commenced to gather in the cattle at Sahavondrony, at the eastern foot of the mountain. There was a skirmish and several Tanala were wounded, losing the cattle. Some days later Besson directed the attack on Ikongo in person. The troop was divided into several sections to surround the mountain. Bertrand commanded on the east, at Andakatombary, Tsiasozomby and Ambatorangoty, Besson on the north opposite Andriampanoha and Maromaniry and a French officer with Raminovola on the east at Antamboneky. The defense was conducted by many native chiefs: Andriampanoha, Tsaihita, Indanona, Andriamanetony, Tsiholany, Andriamitahonony. The most famous warriors were Panesy, Masimana, Ilatsa, Masilaza, Andrianareny, Tsiaroha, Tsivahiny, Andriamanondrikony, Manendy, Andrianantsony, Tsimano, Mahaiza. Their *ombiasys* were Betsitsy, Tsiahera, Andrianeke and Matra. The attack lasted several weeks. Finally Bertrand employed a stratagem. He pretended to return to Fian-

arantsoa with his section, but after dark turned and followed a route up the northwest side of the mountain under guidance of Andriamanapaka. Next morning the section had arrived secretly almost at the summit, which was undefended. At dawn the attack recommenced on all fronts. All the Tanala men went back to their fortifications and Bertrand's section advanced to the highest part of the summit, fired in the air and sounded their trumpets, as a signal. The firing on the flanks ceased. At that moment Bertrand's soldiers fired into the rear of the *menala* and killed many of the enemy. The rest fled in disorder. The soldiers burned the village. Most of the soldiers retired after a post had been established on the summit of the mountain. Driven from the mountain, Andriampanoha and his company fled south and took refuge among the Manamboadro. About a year after their defeat Andriampanoha and his accomplices went to Ambahy (Farafangana) and made their submission before Resident Benevent. They were allowed to return home. They returned and each rejoined his family except Andriampanoha, who did not want to stay at Ambolomadinika (his father's place) and installed himself at Vohiboanjo, east of Antaranjaha. There he made a grand *tavy* in the forest of Ambalanira.

One day the officer in command at Fort Carnot ordered Andriampanoha to furnish him a hundred men to carry rice from Lambolahy (Ankarimbelo) to Antanambao (Fort Carnot). He refused and a few days later was ordered to come to the fort. His people would not let him go, sending instead his *Anakandriana*, Tsivahiny. Arriving at the post Tsivahiny told the officer that Andriampanoha was sick and could not come. When it was learned that Andriampanoha not only was not sick, but was absent from his house, Tsivahiny was garotted and shot for complicity in rebellion. Before sending this false information Andriampanoha and his comrades had taken to the forest and plotted an insurrection. The band of rebels persecuted a white merchant at Sahasinaka and burned the native village. They attacked the posts at Fort Carnot and Sahalanona, but failed and were defeated by the French in skirmishes at Sahavondrony, Antambohobiava, Ankaramena, Analamaloka, and Tsiamalea. They killed the native governor at the forest of Ambodisosoka, Tsivy, and the chief Tsimiharaka at Ambodivakoka. They burned the village of Antaranjaha. Finally they went to Fianarantsoa and made their submission there. For political reasons Andriampanoha, Izaibita, Indamona, Tsimamo, Betsitay and Isaly were deported to the island of St. Marie in 1902.

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[Linton uses the term lineage to refer to what Murdock (Social Structure, p. 237) calls an extended family. Relevant material has been filed under category 596.]